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The Bourgeois

FROM

Molière to Beaumarchais

THE STUDY OF A DRAMATIC TYPE

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins
University in conformity with the requirement for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
June, 1906

BY

WALTER THOMSON PEIRCE

Excerpts from the above, Printed in Accordance with the Regulations of the University

COLUMBUS, OHIO:
F. J. HEER PRINTING CO.
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TO
PROFESSOR CLARA A. NELSON
OF
THE OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY,
RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY

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PREFACE TO PRINTED EDITION.

The chapters printed here form the introduction and conclusion of a Dissertation presented to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The entire Dissertation has been found too bulky to print at present, but it is hoped that the portions here presented will prove intelligible in themselves. The portions omitted consist of a full analysis of each bourgeois character encountered in the plays examined, with ample quotation of speeches in illustration of points treated, and a summary of each author's treatment of the bourgeois as a dramatic type. The fact that all this illustrative material is omitted may explain, and, I hope, excuse in a way, whatever seems obscure or overcondensed in these pages.

W. T. P.

Columbus, Jan. 9, 1907.

PREFACE.

The subject of this dissertation was first suggested by certain points which came up for study in the French Literature Seminary in the winter of 1902-3. At first I purposed giving it a much broader treatment than appears in the result, but before I had gone far in my research I found the material taking on such volume that it soon became necessary to limit either the field or the period. The hundred years that separates Molière from Beaumarchais forms in itself so exact an epoch of the French drama that I was averse to curtailing it by treating only one part of it; therefore I retained the period originally fixed upon, but abandoned many of the minor subjects of investigation. So this dissertation as it stands is merely the history of the bourgeois as a literary creation, a dramatic type; and to this is joined the study of the relation of this type to the genre known as the *drame bourgeois*, a relation which seemed to me not to have been sufficiently considered. This is all this study purports to be; other subjects originally included in it, such as the social and political history of the bourgeois class during this period, the bourgeois in the contemporary novel and memoir, the influence of the English novel and drama upon French comedy of the eighteenth century — these subjects must await investigation at the hands of the economist and the student of comparative literature.

W. T. PEIRCE.

Baltimore, April 13th, 1906.

INTRODUCTION.

M. Francisque Sarcey, speaking of the abyss that separates the ideas of Marivaux from those of Octave Feuillet, the relations of Damis to Araminte on the one hand from those of Maxime Odiot to Marguerite Laroque on the other, has this to say:

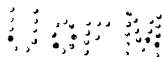
Et maintenant . . . Mais non, il me suffit de vous avoir nettement indiqué le thème. C'est à vous d'achever ce développement par un effort de réflexion personnelle. Vous pouvez suivre ce parallèle jusqu'en ses moindres détails. Vous y trouverez une ample matière à philosopher sur l'art dramatique. C'est un procédé d'étude à peu près semblable à celui dont use M. Saint-Marc-Girardin dans son excellent cours de littérature dramatique. Il prend une passion quelconque, l'amour maternel, par exemple, et la suit d'oeuvre en oeuvre à travers les siècles, marquant les différences qu'ont apportées dans l'expression d'un même sentiment les révolutions de moeurs. Appliquez la même méthode, non plus à une passion ni à un caractère, mais à un sujet, à une idée; elle est tout aussi ingénieuse, plus hardie et plus féconde en trouvailles originales.¹

It is this paragraph of M. Sarcey's that has, more or less, suggested to me the idea of the present study of a dramatic type. Having become interested in certain bourgeois of the theater and their relation to the upper social classes, it seemed to me that it would be interesting to trace the development of such a character through a certain significant period of French drama. The most superficial acquaintance with the subject shows M. Jourdain in 1670,² and M. Vanderk in 1765,³ separated not merely by a century in time, but by a veritable chasm opened by the upheaval in society, in philosophy, and in ideas. Why not take this subject, as M. Sarcey suggests, and follow it from work to work across the centuries, marking the changes wrought by the revolutions in customs? Surely a more complete revolution in cus-

¹ Quarante Ans de Théâtre, Paris, 1901. Vol. V, p. 121.

² Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme.

³ Le Philosophe sans le savoir.



toms was never accomplished than that which separates the age of Louis XIV from the epoch of 1789. Has this revolution left its mark on the theater? As the bourgeois becomes more or less important to society, as he becomes more ambitious or more resigned, as he demands his rights or patiently receives his rebuffs, will his image on the stage follow his motions with the faithfulness of a shadow? Is the change from M. Jourdain to M. Vanderk gradual and logical, or is it sudden and unaccountable? Do the types created by Molière die with him, or do they persist, only to be replaced slowly by others? These are the principal questions that I have tried to answer in this study of the comic theater from the death of Molière to the production of the *drames* of Beaumarchais.

Let us run over rapidly the chief events of the period. The year before Molière's death, 1672, saw Louis XIV begin the war with Holland which was to be the last brilliant campaign of his reign. This war was terminated in 1678 with the treaty of Nimwegen, which marked the climax of France's glory. From this treaty to 1685 is the apogee of Louis' reign. In 1685 came the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and with it began the decline of France's power. The Huguenot merchants and artisans, taking refuge in England and Holland, turned their gains into the coffers of these arch-enemies of Louis, and took the field in their armies against him. 1686 saw the wedding of the League of Augsburg, which formed a union of Spain, Holland, Saxony, the Emperor and the Palatinate against Louis. This was followed by the German War, ending in the Peace of Rijswick, which gave no material gain to France, after a war which had exhausted her strength. In 1700 Louis' grand-son, Philippe d'Anjou, became Felipe V of Spain, and soon after came the War of the Spanish Succession. In this war France sustained the three crushing disasters of Blenheim, Ramillies, and Malplaquet, which drove her successively from Bavaria and the Netherlands. The war was ended in 1713 by the Peace of Utrecht, again unfavorable to France. Once more she had risked everything and lost, and found herself at the end with nothing gained, and an enormous debt contracted, and still increasing. The Great Monarch died in 1715, leaving France devastated by famine, bowed under an overwhelming debt, with finances hopelessly confused, and with the incompetent nobles blocking every path of advance to

the men who might have solved her problems. This was the condition of the country that Philippe d'Orléans undertook to rule as Regent in 1715. The period of the Regency, from 1715 to 1723, was marked by the wildest profligacy, extravagance, and financial folly. This was the time of John Law and the Mississippi Bubble, and the entire body social, from the Regent and his court to the cooks and valets, speculated in stocks. The bubble burst in 1720, and Law avoided his obligations by leaving France. The government could not escape so easily, and was left in a more chaotic state, financially, than before.

The thirties found France with a meddling finger in Polish affairs. The question of this unhappy country was settled temporarily in 1739 by the Peace of Belgrade, which was superficially to the advantage of France, but which found her with an ever increasing misery among the people, intensified by the famine of 1738 and 1740. Next she became involved in the Silesian Wars, from 1740 to 1744, in which she sided with Prussia to wrest Silesia from Maria Theresa. In 1748 came the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, with terms discreditable to France. The Pompadour was now at the head of affairs, and governed France by her caprices, and threw her influence invariably on the side of the wrong. The Peace of Hubertsburg in 1763 ended the Seven Years War, and both treaty and war were disastrous to France. The very disaster was welcomed at home by the people, who seemed to find in it the discredit of the incompetent nobles in the eyes of Europe. The old nobility was poor and weak, the new, formed from the ever rising bourgeoisie, was pushing and arrogant. The Pompadour had by this time been replaced by the Du Barry, but the change was not for the better. In 1772 came the Partition of Poland, and with it the end of France's influence in the East. In 1774 the Treaty of Kainardji gave to Russia the control of the Black Sea ports, and the same year saw the final extinction of France's hopes to seize the Netherlands. And this year Louis the Well-Beloved died, leaving to his grand-son the accumulation of nearly sixty years of debt, dishonor, and folly. And after him came Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, the more and more hopeless struggle to unravel the financial tangle, and finally the crash of 1789.

And what of social conditions during all this time? The history of society in France in the eighteenth century is not so

much a development as a subversion. In the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV the bourgeoisie endeavored to equal the nobility in luxury and extravagance; by the end of this reign, it was no longer a question between the two classes as to material wealth: the bourgeoisie had the better of it there, and were aiming at the title itself. In the mutual change of position between the nobles and the Third Estate during the succeeding reign, money is the prime factor. The arrival of the financier marked the climax of bourgeois prosperity; the necessity of the financier to the state aided the bourgeois to turn this prosperity to social advantage.

The great change begins with the Regency. Baudrillart, in his "Histoire du Luxe,"⁴ sums up the condition of affairs at this time as follows:

Le terme de "classe riche," employé pour désigner la classe dominante, exprime toute une transformation morale et sociale, dont la date peut être fixée à ce moment singulier, caractéristique à tant d'égards, qu'on nomme la Régence.

Jusqu'alors il y avait eu surtout une classe noble et une classe roturière. L'idée de noblesse primait tous les autres genres de distinction.

Louis XIV avait créé ou développé une autre sorte de prééminence. Il avait confié les hauts emplois civils et militaires indifféremment aux nobles et aux roturiers. Il mit par là, dès lors, comme le lui reproche si amèrement Saint-Simon, la bourgeoisie sur le pavois. L'importance accordée à la richesse ne cesse de s'accroître sous le grand roi; mais elle paraît encore subordonnée à la considération qui s'attache aux titres nobiliaires et à partir de 1715 et des années qui vont suivre. Ces années font éclater et développent une révolution, non pas soudaine, mais d'autant plus rapide qu'elle s'était plus lentement préparée sous les apparences brillantes qui continuaient à mettre la noblesse en vue.

La richesse va devenir la principale poursuite de la noblesse elle-même. L'antique *honneur*, dont l'auteur de *l'Esprit des Loix* fait l'âme des monarchies, reconnaît de gré ou de force un supérieur dans l'argent.

Tout atteste alors cette révolution opérée par la richesse, par le luxe et l'amour de l'argent, même la langue. "Spéculer," au dix-septième siècle, c'était méditer sur la métaphysique. Cela signifie, au dix-huitième, jouer à la hausse ou à la baisse.

⁴ Paris, 1881. Vol. IV, Livre II; Le Luxe au XVIIIe Siècle.

On disait le *système* de Descartes. On dira le *système* de Law. Les mots ne font que traduire ce déplacement des idées. L'imagination humaine regardait en haut. Elle regarde autour d'elle, souvent en bas.⁵

In such a society the financier became all-powerful, and the financier came from the bourgeoisie. Such men as Helvétius, La Popelinière, and Laborde came from the middle-class. Law's system had so upset conditions that it was the easier for the small to become the great in the general chaos. Of prime importance is the fact that the financier was necessary to the government. The Regent found the finances of the kingdom in a desperate case, and adopted desperate remedies. He allowed etiquette to be relaxed and ranks to become confused, and gave over more and more power into the hands of the financiers. In the meanwhile the nobility sank lower and lower along the lines of its conventional vices, and adopted in addition the vice of cupidity, supposed to belong by rights to the bourgeoisie. The wild schemes of Law urged extravagance to a dizzy pace, and nobles and bourgeois were confused in the effort to spend on a scale beyond anything hitherto known. And as the nobility adopted the vice of the middle class, the latter returned the compliment by assuming the vices of the nobility. It is now the bourgeoisie that sets the example of luxury; to quote Baudrillart once more:

Triste abaissement de la classe élevée. La haute noblesse ici ne se montre plus que comme une classe de spéculateurs. Elle met à courir après l'argent une passion plus âpre encore que celle qui avait poussé la bourgeoisie enrichie à courir après les titres. Les financiers, les hommes d'argent, donnent le ton: la noblesse suit.

Chose grave au point de vue social; une grande classe perd, cette fois d'une manière presque complète en cette heure décisive, ce qui fait ses caractères propres et comme sa raison d'être. La noblesse se fond dans la classe riche. Elle prend les vices qui caractérisent celle-ci particulièrement aux mauvaises époques. Ces vices quels sont-ils? L'amour de l'argent, la passion des jouissances matérielles, le faste grossier que les vraies aristocraties mettent leur honneur à sacrifier ou qu'elles remplacent par une magnificence plus solide, par des goûts de meilleur aloi.

C'est la déchéance morale avant la déchéance politique.⁶

⁵ Pp. 242-244.

⁶ Histoire du Luxe. IV, pp. 259-262.

Naturally, in this insane struggle for wealth marriage had its part; no way so easy to earn money as to marry it. The nobles wanted money, the bourgeois wanted rank; fair exchange is no robbery. The Marquis d'Oise affiances himself to Mlle. André, aged two, on consideration of an annuity until the marriage, and a dowry on its consummation; the Comte d'Evreux marries Mlle. Croizat, daughter of a banker, sometime lackey; M. d'Evreux himself becoming rich, annuls the marriage, and the friends of M. Croizat congratulate him on the severance of his relations with the Comte. Nor is misalliance a privilege limited to noblemen; noblewomen may also indulge in it; Mlle. de la Vrillière marries M. Panier.⁷

Baudrillart gives a full account of this state of affairs in the time of the Regency; that the case had not materially changed by 1757, we know from Voltaire; one of the conspirators implicated by Damiens was the Président de Boulainvilliers; this Président, says Voltaire, was

le fils du célèbre Samuel Bernard, le plus riche banquier du royaume. Il prenait le nom de Boulainvilliers, parce qu'il avait épousé une fille de cet illustre nom. C'était alors assez commun dans la plus haute noblesse de marier ses filles aux fils de gens d'affaires, que leurs richesses rendaient bien supérieurs dans la société à la noblesse pauvre et méprisée.⁸

Besides this tremendous power conferred by money-interests, the bourgeoisie furnished the magistracy from its ranks. Capet-figure says:

On voit déjà que la bourgeoisie possédait deux grands éléments de force et d'avenir; elle gouvernait par la magistrature et s'assurait l'avenir et les moyens de richesses par les financiers: quelle classe pouvait dès lors disputer le pouvoir à ce tiers-état qui grandissait si démesurément?⁹

The ascendancy of the bourgeois dates from the time of the Regency and of Law, but it by no means reached its apogee then. This was merely the opening offered, and the shrewd tradesmen

⁷ Ibid. IV, p. 262.

⁸ Siècle de Louis XV, ch. LXVII.

⁹ Louis XV et la Société du XVIIIe Siècle. Paris, 1842. Vol. I, p. 256.

took their advantage from it and held it. Manufactures and commerce were in their hands, and the expansion of enterprises, trade, speculation, and the growth of great fortunes, dates from the confusion attendant upon the wild schemes of Philippe d'Orléans. Even after the treaties of 1748 and 1763, which were on the whole discreditable to France, commerce expanded enormously, and the epochs are marked by heavy increase in exports. And the class benefited by all this prosperity was the bourgeoisie; the merchants kept getting richer and richer, while the government ran further and further in debt to this Third Estate, the only class that had money to lend.¹⁰

In the meanwhile, it was not only in matters of vice and extravagance that the nobles and bourgeois were approaching one another. In other and better directions the lines of separation were being broken down. The turn of the century marks a decline in the richness of dress and ostentation of daily living, in which the nobles approached the standard of what was once known as bourgeois simplicity. On the other hand, the bourgeois did not content himself with rivaling the noble in his more superficial attainments; in the matters of culture, benevolence, literature, and philosophy, the member of the middle class was taking his place beside his more favored brother; and the noble acknowledged the place won thus honestly. The most brilliant salon of the latter half of the century, that of Mme. Geoffrin, welcomed within its bourgeois doors the best of the *beaux esprits* from all classes, and its bourgeois mistress numbered among her correspondents the Empress of Russia, and among her personal friends the King of Poland and the Dauphine of France, lately come from Vienna. The most aristocratic salon of the time, presided over by the Marquise du Deffand, boasted as its brightest star Julie de Lespinasse, a woman of no acknowledged birth whatever. And the men on whose wits these salons thrived, Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Beaumarchais, La Harpe, Marmontel, d'Alembert, were the sons of watchmakers, of shoemakers, and what not. It must not be forgotten that M. de Voltaire was born Arouet, and that M. de Beaumarchais was born Caron, and that M. d'Alembert was born with no name whatever that he had any legitimate right to claim.

And as the bourgeois advances thus in wealth and culture,

¹⁰ Taine, *L'Ancien Régime*, Livre IV, ch. 3.

there is developed in him wrath and distrust for a government that jeopardizes futures by withholding from him privileges that are extended to others on the mere recommendation of birth, and jealousy and rage toward a nobility that bars passage to all promotion. At the bottom of the hill, he was not in a position to see what was being denied him; half-way up, he can see the heights above him occupied by a class that has not climbed there, but that has been born to those serene elevations; why should not he himself finish the ascent that he has half accomplished? The philosophy of Rousseau is beginning to percolate through the bourgeoisie.¹¹

Léon Fontaine, in an excellent work on "Le Théâtre et la Philosophie au XVIIIe Siècle,"¹² has shown the relation that existed between these two expressions of the *Zeitgeist*, and how closely the drama of the century followed the trend of philosophic thought. While the object of my own study of a certain feature of the drama of this period is in the main purely literary, still it will be interesting to see to what extent the theater was the reflex and expression of the society of the time. Will the change effected in the position of the bourgeois in the body social be followed by a corresponding change on the stage — will the *bourgeois gentilhomme* give way to the *gentilhomme bourgeois*?

Such was the original intent and scope of the present study. By the time, however, that it had progressed as far as the middle of the eighteenth century, the time when the new *drame* was occupying the attention of all the most important dramatists, I began to consider whether this detailed working out of the development of the bourgeois could not in some way contribute to the better understanding of the genesis of this genre. In view of the fact that among the various names applied to this much-discussed form of the drama two of those most in vogue were "drame bourgeois" and "tragédie bourgeoise," might we not reasonably expect to find some connection between the bourgeois as a character and the form of dramatic composition which bore his name?

In regard to the names affixed to this genre, there is not room here to discuss their differences, nor to inquire into the origin of each. It seems to have been largely a hair-splitting exercise, this differentiating among the various forms of appellation, and as

¹¹ Cf. Taine, *L'Ancien Régime*, Livre IV, ch. 3.

¹² Versailles, 1878.

nearly as we can tell at this distance, they all meant about the same thing. The name of "comédie larmoyante" was applied in derision to the compositions of Nivelle de la Chaussée, which he himself called simply "comédies." The Abbé Desfontaines advised him to call them "drames," or by a name of his own invention, "romanédies," after the analogy of "comédie" and "tragédie."¹³ Voltaire scorns the idea of a "tragédie bourgeoise," but complacently admits that *Nanine* has points in common with the "comédie attendrissante."¹⁴ Diderot speaks of "comédie sérieuse" and "tragédie bourgeoise," but distinguishes between them.¹⁵ Beaumarchais calls it "genre dramatique sérieux" and "drame."¹⁶ Lessing speaks of the "bürgerliches Trauerspiel."¹⁷ Perhaps Lanson best sums up the question in his excellent book on "Nivelle de la Chaussée et la Comédie Larmoyante." Regarding the names he says:

Je ne sépare pas dans ce chapitre la comédie larmoyante du drame bourgeois. Il n'y a pas de différence essentielle entre l'un et l'autre. La comédie larmoyante est la première forme du drame bourgeois qu'il faut soigneusement distinguer du drame historique: il en diffère par sa nature et par ses origines. On a donné un peu à l'aventure le nom de drame à tout ce qui s'éloignait des types classiques de la tragédie et de la comédie.¹⁸

The question I have tried to solve is this: in what degree was the bourgeois, the individual, a factor in the *drame bourgeois*? In trying to determine the attitude of the critics upon this point, we are confronted at once by the ambiguity in the meaning of the word "bourgeois." In its narrowest application, of course, it means pertaining to the merchant class, the middle class, the class of which M. Jourdain is so conspicuous a member. It has, however, another meaning which is adopted by certain writers, to whom it implies "private," "domestic," and, as far as it refers at all to social rank, anything below the royal estate. To these writers, "vie bourgeoise," "milieu bourgeois," means nothing more or less than "vie domestique," "condition privée."

¹³ Répertoire du Théâtre Français, XIII, p. 13.

¹⁴ Preface to *Nanine*.

¹⁵ De la Poésie Dramatique.

¹⁶ Etude sur le Genre Dramatique Sérieux.

¹⁷ Hamburgische Dramaturgie.

¹⁸ Note to p. 81.

In our examination of what the critics have to say about the personnel of the *drame bourgeois*, it will be found convenient to divide them into three groups: 1st, those who use the word "bourgeois" in its broadest sense, and about whose meaning there is no doubt; 2nd, those who use it ambiguously, and with whom it is impossible to tell in which sense they take it; and 3rd, those who use it in its narrowest sense of "middle-class."

First. The critics contemporary with the rise of this genre, who were themselves for the most part dramatic authors, and some of whom were the very originators of the form they were writing about, seem not to have connected it with the idea of a middle-class personnel. I can find no case in which it is even said to be advisable to draw the actors of the *drame* from this class. They concern themselves chiefly with the fact that it must draw its interest from the woes and exigencies of private life, and when they do mention the personnel, it is only to insist that it be different from that of tragedy: namely, that which dealt with kings and princes and ministers of state.

Voltaire takes the word in the sense, apparently, of "homme du commun," when he repudiates the idea of a *tragédie bourgeoise*. He says:

Il (La Rochelle) condamne avec raison tout ce qui aurait l'air d'une tragédie bourgeoise. En effet, que serait qu' une intrigue tragique entre des hommes du commun? Ce serait seulement avilir le cothurne; ce serait manquer à la fois l'objet de la tragédie et de la comédie; ce serait une espèce bâtarde, un monstre, né de l'impuissance de faire une comédie et une tragédie véritable.¹⁹

With Voltaire, however, it is more a matter of differentiation of words than of facts or principles. Only six years after the above expression of his opinions, he writes:

On a dit dans un livre, et répété dans un autre, qu'il est impossible qu'un homme simplement vertueux, sans intrigue, sans passions, puisse plaire sur la scène. C'est un injure faite au genre humain; elle doit être repoussée, et ne peut l'être plus fortement que par la pièce du feu M. Thompson.²⁰

This piece was *Socrate*, and the late M. Thompson is, of

¹⁹ Preface to *Nanine*, 1749.

²⁰ Preface to *Socrate*, 1755.

course, Voltaire himself. In this preface he admits all that Diderot ever claimed. We are not here concerned with Voltaire's principles, but merely with the fact that he does not appear to connect the new genre with the middle class.

Diderot himself gives nothing explicit on the question, having very little to say in any case about the characters who are to carry out his principles. Discriminating among the various sorts of tragedy, he defines one as: "la tragédie qui aurait pour objet nos malheurs domestiques,"²¹ and this is as near as we can get to an expression from him on this subject. Lessing develops the same idea in his lecture on *Le Père de Famille*:

Das bürgerliche Trauerspiel hat an dem französischen Kunstrichter, welcher die Sara seiner Nation bekannt gemacht, einen sehr gründlichen Vertheidiger gefunden. Die Franzosen billigen sonst selten etwas, wovon sie kein Muster unter sich selbst haben. Die Namen von Fürsten und Helden können eine Stücke Pomp und Majestät geben, aber zur Rührung tragen sie nichts bei. Das Unglück derjenigen, deren Umstände den unsrigen am nächsten kommen, muss natürlicher Weise am tiefsten in unsere Seele dringen; und wenn wir mit Königen Mitleiden haben, so haben wir es mit ihnen als mit Menschen und nicht als mit Königen. Macht ihr Stand schon öfters ihre Unfälle wichtiger, so macht er sie darum nicht interessanter. Immerhin mögen ganze Völker darein verwickelt werden; unsere Sympathie erfordert einen einzeln Gegenstand, und ein Staat ist ein viel zu abstrakter Begriff für unsere Empfindungen.²²

To Lessing, then, the "bürgerliches Trauerspiel" means simply domestic tragedy, one not concerned with kings and heroes. Of modern critics, Lanson alone seems to have had a clear idea of the requirements and limitations of the *drame bourgeois*, or at least he alone has expressed his ideas clearly. In his "Nivelle de la Chaussée et La Comédie Larmoyante," he opens his chapter on "Les Origines de la Comédie Larmoyante" with the following very succinct definition of the genre:

La comédie larmoyante est un genre intermédiaire entre la comédie et la tragédie, qui introduit les personnages de condition privée, vertueux ou tout près de l'être, dans une action sérieuse,

²¹ De la Poésie Dramatique. Oeuvres Complètes, 1821. Vol. IV, p. 440.

²² Hamburgische Dramaturgie. Vierzehntes Stück, den 16. Juni, 1767. Ed. Schröter und Thiele, Vol. I, p. 82.

grave, parfois pathétique, et qui nous excite à la vertu en nous attendrissant sur les infortunes et en nous faisant applaudir à son triomphe. La Chaussée en fut l'inventeur.²³

In the light of this clear statement, there can be no doubt that when Lanson says "vie bourgeoise" in the following passage, he means what he does by "condition privée" in the one just quoted. The following is from his review of Lenient's "Comédie en France au XVIIIe Siècle."²⁴

Ainsi les relations de famille et leurs altérations, les affections et leurs troubles, leurs perversions, leurs révoltes, au contact des préjugés et des institutions, en un mot, dans notre vie de larmes qu'introduisent les passions, tel est le domaine dont le nouveau genre prend possession dès le premier jour. Et il développe son action dans le cadre ordinaire de la vie bourgeoise, parmi les soins, les intérêts, les amusements qui font l'occupation du public, entre gens tels sur la scène que nous sommes, nous de l'orchestre et des loges: de telle sorte que la pièce est bien de plein-pied avec nous.

Second. The meaning in the foregoing passages is clear enough. We come now, however, to three authorities that rather leave us in the dark as to the exact signification they wish to attach to the word "bourgeois." It seems probable, though, that Sainte-Beuve means the same as Lanson when he says:

Selon cette théorie (i. e. celle de Beaumarchais) d'un faux bon sens ennemi du grand goût, il suffirait de transporter purement et simplement toute action émouvante et attendrissante de la vie bourgeoise sur le théâtre pour avoir atteint le plus haut point de l'art.²⁵

Charles Joret, in his review of Uthoff's "Nivelle de la Chaussée's Leben und Werken,"²⁶ seems to refer by "bürgerliche Bühne" to the tendency to moral teaching exhibited by La Chaussée and his followers:

²³ Page 81.

²⁴ Paris, 1888. Reviewed by G. Lanson in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Vol. 95, p. 389.

²⁵ Causerie du 8 juin, 1852.

²⁶ Heilbronn, 1883. Reviewed by Ch. Joret, in *Litteraturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, IV, p. 356.

Solch ein Dichter (i. e. wie Nivelle) spricht nicht zum Geist, er wendet sich einzig an das Gemüth des Zuschauers. Aber hierauf beschränken sich die Neuerungen von LaCh. nicht; mehr noch als bei Destouches und Marivaux wird bei ihm die Bühne bürgerlich und das Theater zu einer Schule der Tugend.

Henri Lion, in his treatment of Diderot in *Petit de Julleville*, seems to incline rather toward the narrower sense of the word "bourgeois":

Il (i. e. Diderot) n'a pas pour but de présenter à la scène les ridicules, les vices, ou les grands passions, mais—ce qui est un fond non moins riche — les devoirs des hommes, les actions ou affaires sérieuses, qui, étant les plus communes, augmenteront tout ensemble et l'étendue et l'utilité du genre. Or les devoirs des hommes, c'est-à-dire d'hommes *bourgeois*, sont à la fois sociaux et domestiques. Il faut donc présenter sur la scène les "conditions" des hommes et leurs "relations de famille."²⁷

Diderot sonne le rappel du drame moral et moralisateur, où les personnages bourgeois "sont honorés" d'aventures tragiques.²⁸

Third. If these quotations are ambiguous, we come now to certain critics who have walked straight into the snare laid for the feet of the unwary by that word "bourgeois." The inference that *drame bourgeois* dealt with bourgeois characters is a natural one, but we will see later whether it is justified by the fathers of the genre, and by the examples of the genre itself. Janin says:

Revenons au Père de Famille, puisque enfin c'est au Père de Famille que commence le drame moderne; puisque le premier qui a eu l'idée de fêter dans la tragédie les passions bourgeoises et les héros bourgeois, c'est Diderot. Idée féconde que son auteur a soutenue de toutes ses forces, par ses préceptes et par son exemple, par ses théories aussi bien que par ses oeuvres. . . . Vous avez beau vous récrier à cette idée:—Des bourgeois, héros d'une tragédie! Des bourgeois qui pleurent!—Eh, pourquoi pas, je vous prie? Croyez-vous donc que le bourgeois ait été tout exprès créé et mis au monde pour rire et pour faire rire? Les larmes, les passions, les douleurs, les tragédies sanglantes, tous les mouvements sérieux du coeur sont-ils donc le partage exclusif de quelques familles royales, et ne pensez-vous pas que sous le plus humble toit domestique, à la lueur de la lampe mal éclairée, entre

²⁷ Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Françaises des Origines à 1900. Ed. par Petit de Julleville. Paris, 1898. Vol. VI, p. 608.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. VI, p. 611.

les quatre murailles nues et froides, autour de cette mère qui se meurt pour ses enfants qui se perdent, il se soit passé plus d'une tragédie. . . . Voilà donc grâce à Diderot, le bourgeois entré dans la tragédie jusqu'à ce que lui-même, le bourgeois, devenu un aristocrate, fasse place au peuple à son tour dans la tragédie; jusqu'à ce qu'enfin, le peuple, cet aristocrate de la rue, fasse place dans la tragédie aux aristocrates du bague. Ainsi, tragédies pour les rois, tragédies pour le peuple, tragédies pour les assassins et les forçats; Agamemnon et Robert Macaire, Iphigénie et Vidocq, chacun dans ce monde a eu sa tragédie à son tour. Certes, ce n'était pas ainsi que l'entendaient les grands maîtres de l'art.²⁹

There is no doubt of Janin's meaning here; whether he is as exact as he is definite, and whether he can find any warrant for what he says, either in Diderot's theories or his practice, is for us to determine later.

Vinet is quite as definite; he says:

Sur la scène, au dixseptième siècle, la bourgeoisie est ridicule ou tenue pour telle. Au dix-huitième, elle y acquiert une importance avouée; si des bourgeois y figurent, ce n'est plus en leur qualité de bourgeois qu'on s'en moque; on ridiculiserait plutôt la noblesse. Cette disposition devait conduire à la comédie ou à la tragédie bourgeoise, au drame.³⁰

Brunetière, in his "Evolution du Drame Bourgeois," refers the origin of the new genre to the same change in the status of the middle class, with which the *drame* is supposed to concern itself:

L'aristocratie perd de jour en jour un peu plus de terrain. . . . Et la bourgeoisie, le tiers état s'enrichit à mesure, grandit en importance, prend une conscience nouvelle de ses droits. Les inégalités paraissent plus choquantes, les abus plus insupportables. Les cœurs sont "gros de haine," comme dira bientôt le poète, et "affamé de justice"—ou d'égalité, pour mieux dire Serait-il possible que, disposant d'un moyen de propagande et d'action tel que le théâtre, on ne s'en servît pas? qu'on ne prit pas au sérieux, presque au tragique, les inégalités dont s'amusait encore l'auteur du *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* et de *Georges Dandin*? Mais serait-il possible surtout, que cette bourgeoisie triomphante se fût accomodée de voir éternellement rep-

²⁹ Histoire de la Littérature Dramatique. Paris, 1853-8. Vol. IV, p. 7-9.

³⁰ Histoire de la Littérature Française au XVIIIe Siècle. Paris, 1875, Vol. I, p. 253.

réserver sur la scène des empereurs et des rois, et que le premier usage qu'elle ait fait de ses économies ne fût pas, si je puis ainsi dire, d'avoir commandé son portrait?

C'est ce qu'elle fait, Messieurs; et du concours de ces circonstances,—qui ne se contrariaient pas, vous le voyez assez, qui se fortifient plutôt,—résulte dans l'histoire du théâtre la fusion de la tragédie avec la comédie, sous les noms de *comédie larmoyante* et de *tragédie bourgeoise*.

. . . . On veut égaler la dignité des aventures de la vie bourgeoise à la dignité de celles des héros tragiques, les malheurs du *Père de Famille*, et ceux de M. Vanderk, aux catastrophes de la race des Atrides ou des Labdacides.³¹

Henri Fouquier, in "Le Théâtre de Sedaine—'Le Philosophe sans le savoir,'" ascribes to Sedaine and Diderot the intention of laying their scenes in a bourgeois setting—"bourgeois et même populaire":

Sedaine, dans une action qui se passait dans un milieu bourgeois, agitait à la scène des problèmes sociaux. . . .

Et, de plus, afin que la leçon fût plus accessible à la foule, afin que celle-ci pût trouver au théâtre des exemples possibles à suivre et à mettre en pratique dans l'ordinaire de la vie, il (i. e. Diderot) voulait que les personnages du drame fussent choisis dans le milieu bourgeois et même populaire, dépouillés de l'aurore légendaire qui ceint le front des héros de tragédie et que les éloignent trop de nous.³²

Finally, Pellissier, writing of La Chaussée, has this to say:

Mais c'est seulement dans ses pièces postérieures qu'il inaugura un nouveau genre, la comédie larmoyante ou drame bourgeois. . . . La nouveauté de ce genre consiste à émouvoir les larmes en représentant la vie bourgeoise, qui, jusqu'alors, n'avait guère été mise sur la scène que pour divertir. Nous retrouvons là l'idée que s'appropriâ Diderot et d'après laquelle il composa son *Père de Famille* et son *Fils Naturel*.³³

To sum up the opinions on this point, we find the following result: Diderot and Lessing, who fathered the genre, and who are entitled to a considerable hearing, nowhere insist on characters drawn from the middle class, but content themselves with

³¹ Les Epoques de Théâtre Français. Paris, 1896, p. 287.

³² Revue des Cours et Conférences, Vol. VII, p. 599.

³³ Précis de la Littérature Française. Paris, ?, p. 350.

debaring kings and princes; while Lanson, who has given the subject the fullest and best treatment among contemporary critics, defines the *drame* as a composition dealing with characters of "condition privée." Sainte-Beuve and Lion do not make it quite clear exactly what they mean by "bourgeois," while Brunetière, Janin, Vinet, Pellissier, and Fouquier say definitely that the *drame bourgeois* deals with characters drawn from the bourgeoisie. To see whether these last-named critics are warranted in their narrow application of the word "bourgeois," and to see to what extent the *drame* was influenced by the development of the bourgeois as a dramatic type, is the secondary object of the present study.

Just a few words as to the degree of thoroughness with which I have covered the ground within the period under discussion. Beginning with 1672, the year before the death of Molière, and ending with 1792, the year of *La Mère Coupable*, I have examined two hundred and twenty-six *dramas* and comedies. I have had at my disposal the complete works of Beaumarchais, Dancourt, Destouches, Diderot, Le Sage, Regnard, and Voltaire. I have had five of the plays of La Chaussée at hand, and have been able to control the other five in the excellent work of Lanson on "Nivelle de la Chaussée et la Comédie Larmoyante." The plays of Marivaux have been examined in three collections, embracing sixteen comedies; and I have had at hand editions of plays selected from the works of Piron and Dufresny. Of the greatest importance for the study of the other authors has been found Petitot's "Répertoire du Théâtre Français," including as it does eighty-seven comedies and *dramas*, and "Les Chefs-d'Oeuvres des Auteurs Comiques," giving sixty-two comedies, nearly all of which lie within our period. For the decade immediately succeeding the death of Molière, Fournel's "Les Contemporains de Molière" has been of great service. The bibliography of these sources and a chronological list of the plays will be found in the appendix at the end of this study.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOURGEOIS.

In the preceding chapter¹ I have taken up one by one the authors who have used the bourgeois as dramatic material, have analyzed at greater or less length all such characters, and have given at the end of the treatment of each author a brief summary of his bourgeois types, and his development from his earlier to his later periods, in cases where such development could be discerned. In the present chapter I wish to consider each type of bourgeois separately, and trace its chronological development through the various authors.

Of these bourgeois types, I will treat first those whose origin is to be found in earlier comedy, notably in that of Molière, types which had already been created and were well established before the period on which I am at work. I will trace the development or decline of these types throughout our period, or until the disappearance of them, which is the fate of many. After exhausting these old types, I will take up the new ones, those that have their origin within this epoch, and which come into their fullest development just at the end of it.

For the sake of convenience in treatment and nomenclature, I will assume that the old characters are descendants of the characters of Molière; this does not necessarily imply that there was conscious imitation in every case, but merely that the author was working along lines already laid down. In this way will be treated the progeny of M. Jourdain, who stands as the type of the vain, foolish, gullible bourgeois, striving to enter a higher social sphere, and willing to stake all to attain his ambition; of Harpagon, the miser who put money above all earthly considerations; of Arnolphe, the old man infatuated with a young girl; of his counterpart Bélise, who considered herself to be irresistible to all young men coming within the field of her charms, and who is above all others the silly and sentimental old woman; of Harpin, the financier, of Philaminte the blue-stockings, and of Argan the

¹ "Analysis of Bourgeois Characters." Not printed in this study.

hypochondriac. The sections of this monograph that treat these lines of descent will be followed by others dealing with the bourgeois in his family relations, conjugal, parental, and filial. In these relations, especially in those between parents and children, we will have the development of the family tie, upon which is to be built in a large degree the new genre known as the *drame*. Finally I will consider the birth and rise of the new type of the bourgeois, the *bourgeois de bons sens*, the very opposite to the type of M. Jourdain, who was the bourgeois *par excellence* in Molière's hands. To establish this contrast between the old kind, the foolish, socially ambitious class, and this new one, which reaches its highest point under the hands of the last authors that I consider, to trace the disappearance of the first and the rise of the second, is one of the main objects of the present study.

I. THE FAMILY OF MOLIERE.

A. *The Descendants of M. Jourdain.*

Of all the lines of descent through Molière's bourgeois progeny, by far the most prolific is that which has its rise in M. Jourdain. The reason for this is not far to seek; in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* the characteristics of the middle class are set out in the clearest and most unflattering light; in the matter of social ambition, pretention, vanity, gullibility, fatuity — M. Jourdain is the very model and pattern of the comic bourgeois, as are not Harpagon, Chrysale, Arnolphe, or Orgon. Not that all the descendants exhibit all these traits in the fullness that M. Jourdain exhibits them; but by one of them or by a combination of a number of them, the great mass of the bourgeois of the theater during the thirty or forty years following Molière's death betrays an ancestry that starts with *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*. As might be expected, the most immediate descendants show the strongest resemblance to their progenitor; before the decade following his appearance is out we have the pompous and cowardly M. Gilet of *La Divinresse*;² M. Gilet, who describes himself as witty and handsome, and brave to rashness, except when he remembers that cannon-balls are as likely to strike a brave man as any other; and whose exploits with his magic sword recall irresistibly the immortal duel with Nicole. A few years later we

² Corneille et DeVisé, 1679.

have the office of *Le Mercure Galant*,³ to which come the pretentious and ambitious M. Michaut in search of a ready-made family tree, and the vain Mme. Guillemot, to correct a report which has referred to her as a bourgeoisie without qualification, whereas she wishes to make it known that there are distinctions within the class, and that she is an *auditrice des comptes*.

These three characters are quite in line with the great model; it is Dancourt, however, whose work most nearly approaches that of Molière in the presentation of the bourgeois. In fact, the ridiculous bourgeois might be said to be Dancourt's literary specialty, and the very titles of two of his best plays, *Les Bourgeoises de Qualité* and *Les Bourgeoises à la Mode*, hark back to Molière's prototype. To the representation of this sort Dancourt devoted his best energies and from it he drew his finest types. Three of his longest and best plays—the two just mentioned and *Le Chevalier à la Mode*—are concerned entirely with the exploitation of the aspiring bourgeois, and his greatest characters furnish the examples of this species. The women are his especial quarry; Mme. Patin, of *Le Chevalier à la Mode*,⁴ is easily his greatest figure, and embraces in herself all the qualities that distinguish the aspiring bourgeois; ambition, energy, determination to accomplish her object, contempt for her own kind, abject servility to the nobles, combined with consuming rage at their haughtiness. Of her stuff are made also the four *bourgeoises de qualité*,⁵ Mme. Blandineau, La Greffière, L'Elue, and Mme. Carmin, four women placed in different social positions, but each striving to better herself and to keep the others down, and all of them aiming at final nobility as a goal. More patterns from like material are Mme. Bernard of *La Maison de Campagne*,⁶ who maintains her country-house as a sort of hostelry for a parasitic nobility which does not hesitate to accept her proffered hospitality; Mme. Argante of *La Foire de Besons*,⁷ who, in spite of obvious short-comings in morality, poses as a lady of quality, and grows indignant at the suggestion that she marry a bailiff; and Mme. Robin of *Les Curieux de Compiègne*,⁸ to whom the bourgeoisie is a stench in the nostrils, and who would rather be the simplest *cavalière* than the most honorable bourgeoisie of Paris. Of a somewhat different type from all these, the type of

³ Boursault, 1683.

⁴ 1687.

⁵ 1700.

⁶ 1688.

⁷ 1695.

⁸ 1698.

the idle and luxurious and bored, the greatest exemplar is Angélique, of *Les Bourgeoises à la Mode*,⁹ and close by her stands her friend Araminte; after them follow the Présidente of *Les Eaux de Bourbon*,¹⁰ a giddy old lady who gambles all night and goes to bed at ten in the morning; and Mme. Simon and the Présidente of *Le Second Chapitre du Diable Boiteux*,¹¹ who are leading the same idle and blasé existence. The men of this type are not nearly so numerous or important as the women. Perhaps the best is Ganivet of *Le Moulin de Javelle*,¹² whose vanity and ostentation and presumption do not prevent him from being revoltingly brutal; and after him Des Baliveaux of *Le Retour des Officiers*,¹³ who is overcome by a sense of his own dignity as counsellor, and who is a splendid type of the *bourgeois de la robe*. Others there are, such as Farfadel of *La Foire St-Germain*,¹⁴ Guillemain of *La Foire de Besons*, and Tarif of *Le Vert-Galant*,¹⁵ who are vicious rather than ridiculous, and will be considered under various other heads; still, they have their streaks of vanity and ostentation.

As to development in his treatment of this type, it can hardly be said that Dancourt had any. His finest character, Mme. Patin, is in the second play he wrote, and the play that comes nearest to this, both in kind and excellence, in intrigue as well as in characterization, follows after thirteen years of his most fruitful period. Between these two (*Le Chevalier à la Mode*, 1687, and *Les Bourgeoises de Qualité*, 1700) come the plays that contain all the other characters that have just been mentioned, except the two from *Le Second Chapitre du Diable Boiteux*, but in no perceptible order. After 1700 he scarcely touched on the type, giving us only the slight silhouettes of Mme. Simon and the Présidente. Grichardin of *La Comédie des Comédiens*¹⁶ is much too genial to fall entirely within this class, yet his pleasure over his success in acting a role unwittingly reminds one perforce of M. Jourdain speaking prose. Bélise of *La Déroute du Pharaon*¹⁷ has disposed of her shop for an *hôtel*, but she is much more the trickster than the fool. These modified types are the only ones that Dancourt furnished after the beginning of the century.

On the whole, it may be said that of all the authors succeeding Molière, Dancourt most faithfully follows the tradition of

⁹ 1692.¹⁰ 1696.¹¹ 1707.¹² 1696.¹³ 1697.¹⁴ 1696.¹⁵ 1699.¹⁶ 1710.¹⁷ 1711.

the *bourgeois gentilhomme*, expanding it to include the *bourgeoise de qualité*. Except for this addition of the sex, the type receives nothing new at his hands, though on the other side it rarely falls far below the standard that Molière himself might have acknowledged. With the one exception of D'Allainval,¹⁸ too, Dancourt is the only one to use the ambitions of the bourgeois as the motive of a play. In the hands of other authors, either the bourgeois himself is a subordinate character, or, if he be the protagonist, he is brought forward for the exploitation of other qualities than his social aspirations.

After Dancourt this type falls rapidly into decline. Regnard, who was his contemporary, leaves us but four who can by any stretch be included in this class. These are M. and Mme. Jacquemard, the vain and gullible pair in the little sketch called *La Suite de la Foire St-Germain*,¹⁹ and DeSotencour and his cousin Mathieu Crochet, of *Le Bal*.²⁰ The last two are a pair of coarse, vain, self-satisfied, fatuous provincials, who come up from Normandy to contract a match for DeSotencour. They are the principal figures in the play, but *Le Bal* is only a one-act comedy, and one of the author's earliest. After this he does not even touch on this type. M. Guillaume of *L'Avocat Patelin*²¹ is capable of being gulled through his vanity, and allows the lawyer to walk off with the cloth unpaid for after references to the draper's charm of person and his business capacity. Still, he yields only after a long struggle, and in the end it is his shrewdness and stinginess that compel our attention, rather than his vanity. Turcaret²² includes among his many undesirable qualities ostentation, self-satisfaction, and fatuity. He cringes before the nobility, and is as easily manipulated in the hands of the Baronne as was ever M. Jourdain in those of Dorante and Dorimène. Turcaret stands almost alone as the *bourgeois fourbe*, but his pusillanimity in social matters must not be forgotten. Mme. Turcaret disports herself as a Comtesse, vices and all, and her sister-in-law, Mme. Jacob, would like to be rolling in her own carriage, and would be doing so, if she had her rights. From *Turcaret*, 1709, it is a long jump to Mme. Abraham of *L'Ecole des Bourgeois*, 1728, but there is nothing to be found between. In Mme. Abraham D'Allainval drew the greatest woman since Dancourt,

¹⁸ *L'Ecole des Bourgeois*, 1728.

¹⁹ 1695.

²⁰ 1696.

²¹ Brueys, 1706.

²² LeSage, 1709.

and the last bourgeois of her kind in the century. She is ambitious for her daughter, not for herself, but to marry Benjamin to the Marquis de Moncade she displays all the energy, all the determination, and all the folly of Mme. Patin in striving to make herself a *chevalière*.

With Mme. Abraham one great type ends; that is, the type of bourgeois who was socially ambitious, and who was rendered ridiculous by this ambition. After this we have still bourgeois who aspire to enter the nobility, who buy titles, or assume them without buying them; but for the most part they are accepted at their own rating, and in manners and speech differ not an iota from those born to lofty station.

Destouches furnishes the earliest example of this in Lisimon, of *Le Glorieux*.²³ This Lisimon is a *bourgeois anobli*, and represents for the first time a bourgeois who has attained the goal of his ambitions. He is represented as cringing before the nobility and purchasing a title for his daughter; yet he claims that his crowns are a title no less than old parchments, and he exaggerates his original coarseness and insolence to show his prospective son-in-law that he is not dazzled by his title. He is brutal and repulsive, but not for a moment ridiculous; the time has apparently come when a bourgeois can meet a noble on his own ground. Voltaire furnishes a different type in the Comte des Arrêts of *Les Originaux*,²⁴ who is no Comte, but who treats his bourgeois wife in the customary cavalier manner adopted by the noble toward the bourgeois; yet, for all this, his manners are well-assumed, and not to be distinguished from those of a genuine noble. Voltaire gives us a different sort of bourgeois still in Mme. Duru of *La Femme qui a Raison*,²⁵ who arranges noble alliances for her son and daughter, and who defends herself on the ground of common sense, contending that money applied to social advancement is well invested. There is nothing especially novel in such a sentiment, but the difference lies in the fact that her arguments are endorsed by the author, and that she is emphatically The Woman Who Is Right. LaChaussée contributes Mme. Argante of *L'Ecole des Mères*,²⁶ who encourages her son to style himself a marquis even before he has bought the title, but here again there is no awkwardness in the false position; all the vices and affectations of the nobility are reproduced faithfully

²³ 1732.²⁴ 1732.²⁵ 1749.²⁶ 1744.

and without intention of caricature. The same is true of the Comtesse in *Les Mœurs du Temps*,²⁷ save that she is really a Comtesse, though bourgeois born.

A study of the dates at which the foregoing characters appeared will show that the ambitious bourgeois had practically ceased to hold the stage by the end of the seventeenth century. His predominance before that time is due largely to Dancourt's predilection for this type. Regnard, whose period of activity corresponds so nearly to that of Dancourt, made almost no use of this sort of bourgeois. After 1700 the only great specimens are Turcaret and Mme. Abraham. With Destouches begins a new type, the type that bought or assumed a title, but without the sacrifice of whatever dignity it may have been possessed of before. This type is continued, at long intervals, by LaChaussée, Voltaire, and Saurin.

As this class gave way to another, the common-sense bourgeois, and as the disappearance of the one involves the rise of the other, the phenomenon of its passing will be further discussed under the head of the latter genre.²⁸

B. The Descendants of Harpagon.

The Bourgeois and the Money Question.

After M. Jourdain, it is Harpagon who has left the fullest line of descendants, but this line fails by much of being so numerous or so vigorous as that of the *bourgeois gentilhomme*. There is no miser in the later comedy that even approaches Molière's great model; avarice is never made the subject of the play, and is not held up to any especial ridicule or aversion. Still, the stingy bourgeois is by no means lacking, and if we include in the family those individuals who attach greater importance to money than to rank, we can get together quite a respectable company.

It will be seen at once that there is no relationship between these two families, those of M. Jourdain and Harpagon. A distinguishing trait of the social aspirant is his indifference to money, and his willingness to lavish it in furtherance of his ambitions. They all have a sustaining sense of the importance of money, and all like to make a flourish of it, but they are not stingy, and

²⁷ Saurin, 1760.

²⁸ Cf. p. 64.

they all, like Turcaret, give without counting. To be sure, they are occasionally indignant that money does not count for more in the social world, as when Mme. Blandineau exclaims: "Moi . . . qui ai eu plus de treize mille francs en mariage, tant en argent comptant qu'en nippes et bijoux";²⁹ or when Mme Patin's rage is inflamed against the insolence of the beggarly marquise with her ragged lackeys, her old carriage, and starveling horses, in face of her own dappled grays and gilded coach and gold-laced footmen.³⁰ But, like Mme. Patin, they soon recover their balance and would rather be the most necessitous marquise of the whole court than to be left widow of the richest financier in France.

Before Dancourt there is only the insignificant Pirante of *Le Deuil*,³¹ of whom we know only that he refuses to equip his son for the campaign; and Dancourt himself, who is so rich in examples of the first class, furnishes almost nothing of interest here. Rich men and women he has in plenty, and financiers even, but almost without exception they are using their money to promote their social aims. Some there are, like M. Bernard of *La Maison de Campagne*,³² and M. Blandineau of *Les Bourgeoises de Qualité*,³³ who object to the extravagance of their wives, but in view of the prodigality of these women it would be very unfair to call the husbands stingy. Some others we have who are avaricious enough, but whose devious ways of finance throw them rather into the class of the rascals than the misers; among these are Harpin of *Les Enfants de Paris*,³⁴ who contemplates putting his son into prison and his daughter into a convent, and cheating his sister out of her succession, in order to insure to himself the family fortune; M. Tarif, of *Le Vert-Galant*,³⁵ who is certainly not overrated when his friend describes him as *tenace*; Mme. Lucas of *Le Diable Boiteux*,³⁶ who is watching by her husband's death-bed to cheat his niece and nephew out of their inheritance; and all of the crooked characters in *Les Agioteurs*,³⁷ especially the old Zacharie, who comes closest of all Dancourt's money-lovers to Harpagon. But the miser, as such, had no real interest for Dancourt, and the rich man was valuable to him only when he began to buy his way into society. For the

²⁹ *Les Bourgeoises de Qualité*, II, 3.

³⁰ *Le Chevalier a la Mode*, I, 1.

³¹ D'Hauteroche, 1672.

³² 1688.

³³ 1700.

³⁴ 1699.

³⁵ 1699.

³⁶ 1707.

³⁷ 1710.

man that hoarded his money and loved it as money, he had no dramatic use. In all his fifty-three plays, M. Simon of *Le Second Chapitre du Diable Boiteux*³⁸ is the only personage who furnishes us anything of value as to Dancourt's ideas on this subject, and even here it is brought out in a conversation in which the devil does most of the talking. As a character, M. Simon is sympathetic rather than otherwise, and even so amounts to little, appearing only in the prologue and the last act of the comedy.

Regnard is more fruitful in the matter of misers, and has left us some fairly well-developed types. We have first Grifon of *La Sérénade*,³⁹ who haggles over the price of a serenade to his lady, who gives her up to recover a stolen necklace, and of whom Marine says, when he consigns the entire company to all the devils of hell, that it was the first thing he had ever given away. We have, too, Geronde of *Le Retour Imprévu*,⁴⁰ who forgives all his son's follies to get back the money he has been tricked out of. Geronde of *Le Bal*⁴¹ regards a hundred thousand crowns as the equivalent of so many virtues in a son-in-law, and Démophon of *Les Ménechmes*⁴² urges on his daughter a suitor who is gifted with wit and virtue, and "what is more to the point, sixty thousand crowns." Finally, there is the third Geronde, he of *Le Légataire Universel*,⁴³ who, though a hypochondriac, begrudges the price of his medicine. The same play furnishes a more unlovely figure in Mme. Argante, a mother who is willing for her daughter to marry the nephew if the latter can make himself his uncle's sole heir; if not, Isabelle marries the uncle.

A good specimen of the miser, or rather of the stingy man, is the draper Guillaume, of *L'Avocat Patelin*,⁴⁴ though in Guillaume avarice struggles with vanity, and in the crucial instance the latter carries the day. Still, the abiding impression of Guillaume is not of a fatuous dupe, but of an exceedingly shrewd tradesman, who would be a match for anything less than the cunning of Patelin. Mme. Oronte of *L'Esprit de Contradiction*⁴⁵ is willing to marry her daughter to a rich parvenu peasant, somewhat as Harpagon would dispose of Elise. Destouches leaves three samples of the money-lover. There is Oronte of *Le Triple Mariage*,⁴⁶ who complains that his daughter refuses to become

³⁸ 1707.

³⁹ 1696.

⁴⁰ 1700.

⁴¹ 1696.

⁴² 1705.

⁴³ 1708.

⁴⁴ Brueys, 1706.

⁴⁵ Dufresny, 1700.

⁴⁶ 1716.

a nun and must therefore be married: a harsh necessity for a father who loves his money more than his daughter. Géronte of *Le Philosophe Marié*⁴⁷ has deserted his noble rank to go into trade, and stoutly defends his right to do so. Last and greatest, there is Géronte of *Le Dissipateur*,⁴⁸ the best type of miser since Harpagon, one who sets forth in detail the joys of avarice, and claims that the possession of money, not what money can buy, is the greatest good of life. It must be added, however, that on the whole Géronte is a sympathetic figure, and has none of Harpagon's brutal qualities.

Voltaire drew in Rondon and Fierenfat, of *L'Enfant Prodigue*,⁴⁹ a precious pair that put money above all other possible advantages, and in M. Duru, of *La Femme qui a Raison*,⁵⁰ a close-fisted husband who is outwitted by his wife, she holding that social position is preferable to riches hoarded up. Gripon, of this play, is more like the conventional miser, and though slightly sketched, is important. He outlines a scheme for household regime that would have appealed to Harpagon. Finally, Géronte of *Les Mœurs du Temps*,⁵¹ holds that money is the only criterion: "Tell me what a man has, I will tell you what he is worth."

In all this it will be seen that the line of Harpagon is far from being so well-defined as was that of M. Jourdain; the character of the miser is much more sporadic and incidental. There are some good portraits, such as Géronte of *Le Dissipateur* and Gripon of *La Femme qui a Raison*, but in no single case is the miser made the protagonist, and in none is avarice especially used as a dramatic device. Many, it is true, base their judgments on a money-standard, if not so positively as Géronte of *Les Mœurs du Temps*, still with a lurking sense that crowns furnish as good a title to nobility as parchments. But after all, this latter feeling is really the dawning of class-consciousness, of a sense of class dignity; found early in such an unlovely example as Lisimon of *Le Glorieux*, it will in the end lead to such serene tradesmen as Vanderk⁵² and Aurelly.⁵³ But this line of class-conscious bourgeois will fall under a different head, and will be treated by itself. Hence it may be disregarded for the moment. Here we have considered only those in whom miserliness, stinginess or thrift was

⁴⁷ 1727. ⁴⁸ 1733. ⁴⁹ 1736. ⁵⁰ 1749. ⁵¹ Saurin, 1760.

⁵² *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*, Sedaine, 1765.

⁵³ *Les Deux Amis*, Beaumarchais, 1770.

a leading characteristic, and we have found the line to be more or less tenuous; one which can scarcely be termed a line at all, but rather a series of sporadic cases, cropping out whenever an individual playwright happened to feel the need of this sort of character.

C. The Descendants of Arnolphe.

After considering the lines of M. Jourdain and Harpagon, the ambitious and the avaricious, we have exhausted in large measure the families which can claim descent from Molière. We have, however, in the comedy of this century, a few scattered characters that hark back, unconsciously perhaps, to the types of Molière, but they represent adventitious branches of the great family, and can hardly be said to constitute lines of descent. Still, for the sake of convenience they may be grouped here under the heading of the characters in which Molière created the types once for all.

Of these, one of the most numerous is the family of Arnolphe. Under this denomination I have included all the old men in love with a young girl; this, to be sure, is only one of Arnolphe's peculiarities, but it is one so often combined with his other qualities, his selfishness, his suspicion, at times his sheer brutality, that we shall not go far amiss to refer to the entire class as the progeny of the old man who conducted the School for Wives.

The first case of this type occurs in the year following Molière's death, and is to be found in *Crispin Médecin*.⁵⁴ Lisidor in this play, being the rival of his own son for the hand of the young Alcine, perhaps suggests more strongly Harpagon in his rivalry with Cléante; but he has none of the miser's other traits, and in fact is but a shadowy figure at the best. Much clearer and better is Harpagème of *Le Florentin*.⁵⁵ This play of La Fontaine might be said to be *L'Ecole des Femmes* in one act; the intrigue is much the same, and the character of Harpagème is so directly patterned after that of Arnolphe that it is hard to believe that it is coincidental. Even the best scene in it, the one in which Harpagème, disguised, questions his ward about her relations with Timante, is more than suggestive of the similar one between Arnolphe and Agnès. There is the same curiosity to find out the worst, combined with rage and fear at what the

⁵⁴ D'Hauteroche, 1674.

⁵⁵ La Fontaine, 1683.



worst may be. We have the same cunning, the same suspicion, the same brutality, that we meet in Arnolphe.

Dancourt gives us only four cases of this class, but one at least is very good. This is M. Robinot, of *Colin-Maillard*,⁵⁶ the old man who is led to believe that his ward is so ingenuous as to love the games of childhood, and allows himself to be blinded in a game of blindman's buff while Angélique and Eraste make their escape. In M. Robinot credulity is the prevailing note, and he has little or none of Arnolphe's cunning. After M. Robinot the best case in Dancourt is M. Oronte, of *Les Fonds Perdus*.⁵⁷ This is Dancourt's earliest extant play, and it is somewhat conventional in the pairing off of the characters; M. Oronte is in love with the young Angélique, while her mother is in love with his son. The young people are, of course, in love with each other. M. Oronte is made ridiculous through his amorousness and his assumption of youth, and his self-consciousness in the matter of his personal adornment. In *La Foire de Besons* we have the old libertine, Griffard, duped and played upon by the young Cidalise, and in *Le Tuteur*⁵⁸ we have Bernard, who comes nearer to Arnolphe in that it is his ward whom he wishes to marry. Neither of these characters is especially strong, though there is one good scene in which Bernard is dressed in woman's clothes to please a whim of Angélique, and is then passed off for insane.

Regnard is much better in his delineation of this sort of personage, giving more pictures and clearer ones than Dancourt. The Arnolphe and Agnès situation, that of a guardian in love with his ward, is found in *La Foire St-Germain*,⁵⁹ but the whole play is too farcical to be considered seriously. Grifon, in *La Sérénade*,⁶⁰ is another case of the father in rivalry with his son, but here avarice is stronger than love, and he willingly gives over his bride in the hope of getting back stolen goods. In *Le Joueur*⁶¹ there is every opportunity to develop the situation of *L'Ecole des Femmes*, but here, strange to say, it is Dorante, the sensible, middle-aged lover, who carries the day over the Gambler, his nephew. This Dorante has no points whatever in common with Arnolphe except that he is in love with a woman much younger than himself. He is an altogether sympathetic character, and never ridiculous through his love or otherwise. Géronte,

1701.

⁵⁷ 1686.

⁵⁸ 1695.

⁵⁹ 1695.

⁶⁰ 1696.

⁶¹ 1696.

of *Le Légataire Universel*,⁶² is planning to marry Isabelle, but this motive is lost in the mad whirl of events instigated by Eraste and Crispin. By far the best, as well as the most unpleasant, sample of this character to be found in Regnard is Albert of *Les Folies Amoureuses*.⁶³ He is own brother to Arnolphe, and has all his suspicion, all his cunning, and even more than his brutality. Albert, along with La Fontaine's Harpagème, is by all means the most faithful reproduction of Molière's prototype.

After Regnard and Dancourt, the type languished utterly. In all the rest of our period (1708-1770), there is to be found only one example of Arnolphe, and that a very faint and unsatisfactory one. This is Lisidor of *L'Amour Usé*,⁶⁴ and in the character Destouches has not departed from his rule of presenting the bourgeois seriously. This Lisidor has been betrothed since youth to Isabelle, a lady of his own age, but now each of them wishes to break off the engagement to marry another. There is material for laughter here, but Destouches does not improve the opportunity. Neither Lisidor nor Isabelle is in the least ridiculous, and the whole is treated with the gravity that Destouches brought to most of his plays.

In conclusion it may be said that the Arnolphe-type was never one of wide appeal. It is limited practically to Dancourt and Regnard, and of these the former treated it only half-heartedly. Nothing is added to Molière's portrait, and the best cases are those that come nearest to the original Arnolphe: La Fontaine's Harpagème and Regnard's Albert.

D. The Descendants of Bélise.

As a sort of companion piece to the group of Arnolphes that we have just studied we may consider the collection of dames that have Bélise for an ancestor. In this group it must be remembered that it is Bélise the silly and sentimental, Bélise the infatuated, not Bélise the blue-stocking, that is taken as the prototype. The *femmes savantes* will be considered later⁶⁵ as the legitimate descendants of Philaminte.

Strange to say, Bélise has left a much more numerous progeny than Arnolphe, though this is due largely to Dancourt, who was always more severe on the women than on the men. The

⁶² 1708.

⁶³ 1704.

⁶⁴ 1742.

⁶⁵ Cf. p. 43.

bourgeois ridicule, and very emphatically the *bourgeoise ridicule*, was his quarry. We have seen how time and again he used social ambition to deride the class; he also found that an old or middle-aged bourgeoisie in love with a young man, preferably a noble, lent herself well to his purposes. Often indeed he combined the two effects, and it is not always easy to say which of the two motives works the more strongly in a given case. Take Mme. Patin, for instance; she certainly was infatuated with the young *chevalier à la mode*, but whether more with his youth than with his title would be difficult to determine. However, shrewd and sound-headed as Mme. Patin shows herself to be in other instances, we may believe that here, too, her reason would hold her emotions well in check, in case of conflict, and that her affection for the chevalier would have waned if his nobility had proved spurious, and that if no young chevalier had been forthcoming, an old one would have answered as well.

In the very first of his extant comedies, *Les Fonds Perdus*,⁶⁶ Dancourt has given us one of his best figures of the Bélise kind, and one that may be taken as a model for her type. Mme. Gérante, who is a widow turned fifty, and in love with the young Valère, is silly, vain, self-conscious, infatuated, and credulous. She soars into an ecstasy on being told that Valère talks about her in his sleep, and showers upon him gifts of all sorts. Vanity seems to go hand in hand with sentimentality in such women as these, and she plumes herself in her wigs and make-up, and flatters herself that she looks as young as she wishes to appear. Dancourt's best two cases of this sort are Mme. Jaquinet, she who styles herself Armide in *Renaud et Armide*,⁶⁷ and Mlle. Giraut of *Le Prix de l'Arquebuse*,⁶⁸ these ladies seem to have impaired their mental faculties by attendance on the opera, as they burst into song at the slightest provocation; giddy, vain, credulous, assuming the emotions and manners of their past youth, they are the very model and pattern of this sort of woman. They are romantic and sentimental *par excellence*, and worldly considerations in marriage are far from them. We have already spoken of Mme. Patin; she is too clear-headed not to know she is being duped, but she closes her eyes to the fact, and lends a hand to her own undoing. Mme. Agathe of *Le Mari Retrouvé*⁶⁹ goes about the business with worthy bourgeois shrewdness, and

⁶⁶ 1686.⁶⁷ 1697.⁶⁸ 171-.⁶⁹ 1698.

bargains with her young *amorus* to take her in case he can not get Colette. Mme. Bardoux of *La Foire St-Germain*⁷⁰ manages her affair without loss of dignity, and has a young lover who neither deceives her nor exploits her. On the other hand Mme. Loricart of *Le Charivari*⁷¹ condescends to love her peasant gardener, and even so finds an unwilling suitor. Mme. Argante of *La Folle Enchère*⁷² is in the peculiar position of being the rival of her own son, as the young cavalier whom she affects is in reality Angélique in disguise. Perhaps the strongest note in Mme. Argante's personality is an unusually avid grasping for youth, combined with a positive hatred for the son who betrays her age. Mme. Argante of *La Foire de Besons*⁷³ is a self-styled widow, though no husband has figured in her lurid past. Except for her immorality, she is the conventional figure, vain, credulous, and pretending to a youth long past. Finally, there is Mme. Sara of *Les Agioteurs*,⁷⁴ the shrewd, crafty widow of a usurer, and herself no mean business woman. She has loaned Trapolin ten thousand crowns upon his promise of marriage, thus trading upon her very love affairs.

There is no perceptible development here more than in the case of other types of Dancourt. One of the best examples of the genre is found in his first comedy, *Les Fonds Perdus*, and the very best is in *Le Prix de l'Arquebuse*, next to his last play. A distance of something like thirty years separates these two plays, and in 1697, about a third of the way in his active period, comes *Renaud et Armide*, which stands close beside the two mentioned. The less important ones occur at scattered dates over the entire period at irregular intervals that tell nothing.

Regnard, who surpassed Dancourt in his Arnolphe-types, has only one Bélise. This is Araminte of *Les Ménechmes*,⁷⁵ who suggests Mme. Gérante of *Les Fonds Perdus*, though she is much more romantic than she, and does not think that a comparison to Venus overstates her charms. After Regnard there is little. The two sisters, Bélise and Araminte, of *Le Dédit*,⁷⁶ promise well, but turn out to be merely sketches. Slight as they are, however, they are differentiated, one being a prude and the other an extravagant fool. Possibly the best case after Dancourt is Mme. Oronte of *Crispin Rival de son Maître*,⁷⁷ who, slight though she

⁷⁰ 1696.

⁷⁴ 1710.

⁷¹ 1697.

⁷⁵ 1705.

⁷² 1690.

⁷⁶ Dufresny, 1719.

⁷³ 1695.

⁷⁷ 1707.

is, has the advantage of Le Sage's character drawing. She is like the original Bélise of Molière in that she suspects her daughter's suitors of being attracted by her own charms. Destouches contributes two not very vigorous pictures in Mme. Argante of *L'Irrésolu*,⁷⁸ conventionally amorous and fatuous, and Isabelle, of *L'Amour Usé*,⁷⁹ from whose mature and belated passion no humor is drawn. The last example that we find is Florise, of *Le Méchant*,⁸⁰ who is detestable rather than ridiculous, but who almost compels our sympathy by reason of the cruelty she suffers at the hands of the *Méchant*.

Here again, as in the case of Arnolphe, there is no real line of descent. Dancourt used the types many times, and with good dramatic effect; after him the cases are scattered and sporadic. Those examples that do occur after him come early in the century; after 1713 we have only the two characters of Isabelle and Florise, in 1742 and 1745 respectively. There is no great variation here from the type of the original Bélise, except that the late examples cease to be ridiculous.

It must be said in defense of the Bélises, however, that they were sincere in their affections, and that selfish calculations rarely entered into their matrimonial schemes. In fact, the *blague* of the day referred to true love as something distinctly bourgeois. "Je suis entraînée par un penchant si tendre, que je ne puis y résister," says the Baronne in *Turcaret*. "Un penchant tendre?" replies Marine, "Ces faiblesses vous conviennent-elles? Eh! fi! vous aimez comme une vieille bourgeoise."⁸¹ The same was held to be true of the men, as when Crispin remarks in *La Gasette*:⁸² "Hé! que diable! un capitaine doit-il être aussi bourgeoisement amoureux que vous l'êtes?"

E. The Descendants of Harpin.

Harpin, the financier of *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas*, is a weakly ancestor to found a line of descent. He comes on but in one short scene, and in this he fails to exhibit many of the traits which came afterward to characterize the financier. Still, in his pliability in the hands of the Comtesse, his coarseness, his ungoverned rage on finding himself deceived, he may assume the ancestorship of the few financiers that occur in our period. What

⁷⁸ 1713.

⁸¹ I, 3.

⁷⁹ 1742.

⁸² 1693, Sc. 3.

⁸⁰ Gresset, 1745.

is chiefly lacking in the character of Harpin, that we find in the most notable of his descendants, is any sign of professional trickery, any indication of the devious methods of finance. Still, from his attitude toward the Comtesse, we may construct for ourselves his position toward the smaller men of business whom he found in his power. Brief as are his speeches, they manage to convey the impression of the sense of power that comes from the control of great money interests, which gives the financier a certain poise even in the presence of those whom he regards as his social superiors.

The line of Harpin's descendants is not long, and is confined to Dancourt and Le Sage, with a distant descendant in Beaumarchais. Dancourt, like Molière, is much more interested in the social short-comings of his financiers than in any moral or financial obliquity. His earliest case, that of M. Patin of *L'Été des Coquettes*,⁸³ is simply a rich bourgeois in the toils of Cidalise, for whose entertainment he willingly pays. Rapineau, of *Le Retour des Officiers*,⁸⁴ turns out to be merely a peasant who had enriched himself in finance. A much better figure than either of these is Farfadel of *La Foire St-Germain*.⁸⁵ Farfadel's main note is libertinism, but it is finance that gives him power to exercise this bent to its fullest. He tells how he seduces a girl by offering employment to her brothers, and then withdrawing it when he has accomplished his object. He also announces that he has found a safe and easy way to distinction by embarking in finance; the way of war is dangerous, that of the bar dull and laborious; by shining in finance, one has pleasures, one runs no risks, and one is a respected man in society. Through it all he shows the confidence, the unscrupulousness, the hardness, that the ways of finance breed in a man. As a character he is quite as valuable as the more pretentious characters of *Les Agioteurs*,⁸⁶ though the latter give much more direct testimony as to the exact methods of chicanery. The greatest one of these is Trapolin, who would, however, be much greater if Turcaret had not made his appearance the year before. In Trapolin's actions we see how it is all done. To trade on a man's necessity; to catch him and squeeze him dry and turn him loose; to hold him under once he is down; to allow no feelings of mercy or humanity — no compunctious visitings of conscience — to interfere with seiz-

⁸³ 1690.

⁸⁴ 1697.

⁸⁵ 1696.

⁸⁶ 1710.

The Bourgeois from Molière to Beaumarchais.

ing the main chance: this is how a man rises in the financial world. In Trapolin's train comes a horde of sharpers: Zacharie his god-father and instructor; Craquinet his partner; Dubois his cousin; Durillon his friend; and Cangrène his colleague in the business. There is even the old Mme. Sara, carrying on her late husband's usurious business. Strange to say, in this comedy of Dancourt the only one who is putting ill-got gains to social use is Urbine, who is spending for her own advancement what her miserly father had amassed. Besides the foregoing, Dancourt has given us in the recital of M. Simon of *Le Second Chapitre du Diable Boiteux*,⁸⁷ a detailed account of the rise of a page to the position of partner and son-in-law of his one-time employer — all through the power of finance. Finally, in Tarif of *Le Vert-Galant*,⁸⁸ we have a character whose financial methods are not given, but whose avarice, knavery, treachery, and lechery put him in the class of the financiers we have just noticed, and very near the bottom of that class.

But greater than any or all of these creations of Dancourt is *Turcaret*.⁸⁹ In *Turcaret Le Sage* created a new type, for the first time since the death of Molière. Certain suggestions may be found, to be sure, in Molière; the rage of Harpin at the deceit of the Comtesse is duplicated by that of *Turcaret* against the Baronne; his fleecing at the hands of the nobles is foreshadowed in M. Jourdain with Dorante and Dorimène. But even allowing for this, *Turcaret* stands out in his full-length as a new type. His characteristics are largely those we have just ascribed to Trapolin — always remembering that *Turcaret* appeared a year before Trapolin; the same keenness in seizing the opportunity, the same mercilessness in carrying it out, the same unscrupulousness as to the method chosen. On his social side we have his fatuousness — he writes verses to the Baronne, and reads them to her; his gullibility — he is the *vache à lait* for the Baronne and the Chevalier; and his coarseness and boorishness — he flies into a rage and smashes the Baronne's mirrors and porcelain when he believes himself to be tricked by her. Altogether, as repulsive, but as compelling, a figure as the century will furnish. After *Le Sage* the interest in the financier seems to have waned. Years later, at the very end of our period, we have *Mélac*, of *Les Deux Amis*,⁹⁰ who is a tax-collector, as was the original

⁸⁷ 1707.

⁸⁸ 1699.

⁸⁹ 1709.

⁹⁰ Beaumarchais, 1770.

Harpin. But what a difference! Mélac peculates to save a friend from ruin, and is represented throughout as the sympathetic, self-sacrificing, even self-martyring friend, and the loving father. He will be considered under later heads.⁹¹

The financier, then, must be regarded as the creation par excellence of Le Sage. Dancourt's greatest character of this sort, Trapolin, is modeled directly upon Turcaret, though it must be granted to Dancourt that he drew Farfadel and Tarif and M. Simon, all of them fine figures in their way, years before Turcaret made his appearance. Turcaret is, for the first time, a distinct addition to the stage, and the only wonder is that its great success did not give rise to more imitators. This is the more to be wondered at in view of the fact that the Regency, the period in which the bourgeois financier reached his apogee, came later than *Turcaret*. In this case the dramatist might be said to be the prophet, rather than the historian, of society, though it must be said that the financier in real life was a distinct figure in the time of Le Sage, as he had been in the time of Molière.

F. Other Molièresque Types.

The number of types remaining that seem to have their provenance in Molière are so few that they may be treated together. Argan the hypochondriac has but one representative, G ronte of *Le L gataire Universel*.⁹² This G ronte would seem to trace descent from both Argan and Harpagon, as his case is a strange mixture of hypochondria and avarice. He is even more miserly than Argan, and so begrudges the price of his drugs that he decides that he might as well die at once — the old house is not worth the repairs they are putting on it. Philaminte the blue-stocking has one belated and very much modified disciple in Araminte of *Le Cercle*,⁹³ Araminte, however, is not in the least serious in her pretensions to learning, and takes up music and mathematics only in the interval between dogs and monkeys. M. de Pourceaugnac is not a bourgeois, but he is represented by two provincial descendants who are so; these two, both very early, are Vivien of *Les Vendanges de Suresne*,⁹⁴ and the *Bailli de Maine* of Regnard's *La Coquette*,⁹⁵ whose value to us is im-

⁹¹ Cf. p. 64.

⁹² Dancourt, 1695.

⁹³ 1708.

⁹⁴ 1691.

⁹⁵ Poinsinet, 1764.

paired by the fact that the Bailli is only Arlequin in disguise. In both cases the fate of the provincial lovers is the same as that of the original Pourceaugnac: they come up to Paris for a bride, are tricked and made sport of, and finally sent back to their province with no wife, but with much experience of Parisian manners.

II. THE BOURGEOIS IN THE FAMILY.

In studying the rise of the dramatic genre which came variously to be known as the *drame*, the *comédie sérieuse*, the *comédie attendrissante*, the *comédie romanesque*, and the *tragédie bourgeoise*, the family relations are of paramount importance. This genre has its very roots in the family, and the comedy or tragedy — by far the most often the tragedy — arises from tangled domestic threads. In place of Andromaque the dethroned princess, we have Mélanide,⁹⁶ the abandoned wife; for Hermione repudiated at the altar we have Eugénie⁹⁷ entrapped into a false marriage. Not that domestic tragedy is a thing of recent times; in the house of kings it is as old as Oedipus. But in lower rank the faithless wife and the undutiful son were subjects for mirth, and furnished forth many a comedy. The point of the new *drame* was this: could family tragedy be carried seriously into the lower walks of life, and could not a father feel as deeply the loss of a son when such a loss did not involve the extinction of a dynasty, and could not a wife suffer as keenly from the defection of her husband when no insult to her rank was entailed? The authors of the *drame* applied this theory faithfully, and where Don Rodrigue sustains the honor of the Spanish grandee, Vanderk fils⁹⁸ maintains the dignity of his merchant father; Thésée mourns for the murdered Hippolyte, D'Orbesson welcomes back to his arms the errant St-Albin;⁹⁹ Monime sees Mithridate and Xipharès, father and son, rivals for her hand, the Gouvernante¹⁰⁰ has the more poignant experience of seeing her own son and his father rivals for the hand of another. Whether this attempt to carry domestic tragedy out of royal families was successful dramatically is not the point for us to settle; what interests us is: did this new conception of the dignity of the family tie arise from a

⁹⁶ Mélanide, *La Chaussée*.

⁹⁷ Eugénie, *Beaumarchais*.

⁹⁸ *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*, Sedaine.

⁹⁹ *Le Père de Famille*, Diderot.

¹⁰⁰ *La Gouvernante*, *La Chaussée*.

change in the bourgeois family relations, and did the *tragédie bourgeoise*, so called, deal exclusively, or even mainly, with the bourgeois?

The treatment of the bourgeois family may be with advantage carried on under two heads. In the first we will consider the conjugal relation, in the second the parental and filial relations.

A. The Bourgeois Husband and Wife.

The marriage tie among the bourgeois in the period that we are studying is not, on the whole, a galling one. The ill-matched pair has always been, and always will be, a mark for the shafts of the comic author, and this period is no exception. Sometimes it is a mere matter of farce; sometimes it has a more direct bearing on our subject, as when the ambitions and extravagance of the wife go beyond the inclination or the purse of the thrifty husband.

Of actual immorality there is little among the bourgeois after we leave Dancourt; he, however, gives a lurid picture of marital affairs, and has left us more libertine bourgeois than all the comic authors following him in the next century. The bourgeois is naturally faithful to the marriage vow, it would seem, and when he violates it, it is with the sense that he is doing something distinctly *à la mode*. More than once it is said to be decidedly bourgeois to be in love with one's wife, and in the case of two especially giddy wives, Mmes. Simonneau and Du Rollet of *Le Moulin de Javelle*, the host finds that they have quite the manners of the nobility, and wonders if they can be merely bourgeois.

The worst, from a moral point of view, that occurs in Dancourt is Farfadel, of *La Foire St-Germain*.¹⁰¹ He is a sort of Don Juan, and is carrying on affairs with various women at once. He is not, to be sure, married, and would seem hardly to come under the head of the bourgeois in the family; but as he is about to marry Angélique, and is, in fact, at the fair in disguise to avoid being recognized by her and her mother, and still, on the very eve of his wedding, is keeping two appointments with other women, he may be taken as a fair sample of the sort of husband he is about to become. After him Tarif of *Le Vert-Galant*¹⁰² is as bad as any of them; he combines faithlessness to his wife with

¹⁰¹ 1696.

¹⁰² 1699.

a breach of trust with his friend, the unsuspecting Jérôme. His wife describes him as a rascal, libertine, and villain, and the epithets seem none too strong. Messrs. Simon and Griffard of *Les Bourgeoises à la Mode*¹⁰³ pay each other the reciprocal compliment of loving each the other's wife in a sort of ladies-change figure; it may be added that each lady knows of her husband's infatuation, each makes a confidante of the other, and neither resents it in the least. The Guillemain ménage of *La Foire de Besons*¹⁰⁴ have arranged for themselves the *partie carrée* so much in vogue in modern French fiction and drama: he has for mistress a certain little girl of the Opera, and she is entertaining the chevalier. It is M. Guillemain who furnishes a valuable light on the consideration accorded to conjugal love at this period: "Fi, aimer sa femme, cela est-il permis à un galant homme? et se marie-t-on pour cela dans le monde? A moins que d'être du dernier bourgeois." Mme. Argante of the same play is an out-and-out libertine, though it is straining the point a little to include her in the class of libertine wives; she had never had a husband whom she might be unfaithful to, though her children were in evidence. Her old lover appears, too, in M. Griffard. Mme. Simonneau and Mme. du Rollet of *Le Moulin de Javelle* are the frankly frisky wives of modern Palais-Royal farce, and outwit their husbands and feast their lovers on the supper ordered and paid for by the former.

Outside of Dancourt the libertine bourgeois scarcely exists. Regnard gives us one farcical pair in M. and Mme. Jaquemard of *La Suite de la Foire St-Germain*,¹⁰⁵ a pair that is libertine in intention only, and rather dazzled by the noble birth of the masquerading Arlequin and Colombine than misled by any amorous desires. Dufresny draws in the Présidente of *Le Mariage fait et rompu*¹⁰⁶ a wife with a dubious past, but the best of the genre after Dancourt are Turcaret and his wife.¹⁰⁷ Separated for years, he living in Paris and she in the provinces, he is making arrangements to marry the baronne, and she numbers the chevalier and the marquis among her lovers.

When we leave the cases of actual infidelity to the marriage bond, and come to those of mere domestic infelicity, of incompatible temperaments, the list is much longer. The earliest is the case of Mirabolan and his wife, Féliante, in D'Hauteroche's

¹⁰³ 1692.¹⁰⁴ 1695.¹⁰⁵ 1696.¹⁰⁶ 1721.¹⁰⁷ 1709.

Crispin Médecin.¹⁰⁸ The suggestion is strong of Chrysale and Philaminte, and it must be remembered that *Les Femmes Savantes* had been played only two years before. There is the same blustering on the part of the husband before the wife appears, and the same compliance when in her presence. Féliante, however, rules him not so much by openly going counter to his will, as by assuming that he agrees with her in every possible particular.

Dancourt, as usual, furnishes the bulk of illustration for the ill-matched pair. The most interesting cases in a study such as we are making, in which we are seeking distinctively bourgeois traits, are those in which the difference existing between the husband and wife arises from undue ambition on the part of one of them. Molière's great example of this is, of course, M. and Mme. Jourdain, in which the husband is the aggressor. Dancourt reverses the situation, and furnishes two in which the wife is consumed by an ambition disapproved of by her husband. The first of these is that of M. and Mme. Bernard of *La Maison de Campagne*,¹⁰⁹ in which Monsieur declares that he is brought to poverty by Madame's extravagance in entertaining her noble guests. The second is very similar, the pair this time being M. and Mme. Blandineau of *Les Bourgeoises de Qualité*,¹¹⁰ in this case the wife is still more wild and extravagant, and more independent, while the husband is driven to more stringent measures than was the case with the couple who inhabited the country house. A second *bourgeoise de qualité*, the Elue, apparently treats her husband in much the same informal fashion, though he does not appear on the stage. When she learns of the Greffière's approaching rise to the estate of comtesse, she leaves the house declaring that the Elu shall buy her a title, or he is no husband of hers.

We have already spoken of the faithlessness of M. Simon and M. Griffard to the *bourgeoises à la mode*,¹¹¹ and the indifference of their wives to their desertion. These two *ménages* are the best and fullest testimony that Dancourt has given us on this subject. The chief grievance of Angélique against her husband is that he is bourgeois, and to this may be added her utter independence, amounting to insolence, her extravagance in his despite, her indifference to his liaison with her friend, Araminte, and her willingness to ruin him. "Intéressée dans ses dépenses, moi?"

¹⁰⁸ 1674.

¹⁰⁹ 1688.

¹¹⁰ 1700.

¹¹¹ 1692.

Qu'on le ruine, Chevalier, pourvu que j'en profite, je n'y prendrai d'autre intérêt que celui de partager ses dépouilles." Araminte is even more energetic, and passes a sleepless night thinking up all the imaginable ways to enrage her husband. We have seen, too, Tarif's infidelity, in *Le Vert-Galant*,¹¹² Mme. Tarif exhibits scorn for him rather than rage, and goes straight to tell Jérôme and his wife all about it. While speaking of this comedy, it may be remarked that M. and Mme. Jérôme furnish the only case of a reasonably faithful and happy couple in all Dancourt, or in all the comedy up to Destouches and La Chaussée.

In *Le Second Chapitre du Diable Boiteux*,¹¹³ Mme. Simon and the Présidente are just sitting down to entertain their lovers, when they are surprised by M. Simon and the Président, much to the disgust of Mme. Simon, who had been given to understand that her husband was dead. In this connection may be cited the case of two consolate widows and one widower: Mme. Loricart of *Le Charivari*¹¹⁴ has hated her husband so that she hates everybody that belonged to him, even his daughter, though the latter happens to be her own daughter as well; the Widow (she is called simply *la veuve*) of *L'Impromptu de Suresne*¹¹⁵ is in haste to marry the first comer to rid herself of the hated name of the deceased; while M. Dubois of *La Femme d'Intrigues*¹¹⁶ remarks: "Vous me soupçonnez de pleurer ma femme? Vous vous moquez de moi, je pense; ma douleur est bien plus raisonnable."

After Dancourt the cases of infelicity become more scattering. The Philidor household in *Les Trois Frères Rivaux*¹¹⁷ contend bitterly and regularly, and their agreeing on any one subject is rare enough to call for comment; Monsieur says himself that this does not occur above once a year. The Président and Présidente of *Le Mariage fait et rompu*¹¹⁸ recall strongly Mirabolan and Féliante of *Crispin Médecin*, for the wife has quite her own way, though appearing to yield continually to her husband.

An interesting and isolated case is that of the Comte and Comtesse des Arrêts, in Voltaire's *Les Originaux*.¹¹⁹ It is merely the situation of Georges Dandin reversed; that is, of a titled husband and a bourgeois wife. That the husband is only a spurious noble does not concern us here. It is strange that Dan-

¹¹² 1699.¹¹³ 1707.¹¹⁴ 1697.¹¹⁵ 1713.¹¹⁶ 1692¹¹⁷ Lafont, 1713.¹¹⁸ Dufresny, 1721.¹¹⁹ 1732.

court, with all his fertility in bringing the bourgeois to ridicule, never thought of picturing a *ménage* half-bourgeois and half-noble. He shows us many bourgeois in pursuit of the noble in marriage — not infrequently the noble is more than willing to be entrapped for a consideration — but he never carries such affairs beyond the wedding day. In *Les Originaux* the scorn of the Comte for his bourgeoisie wife, and especially his scorn for the bourgeois habit of loving one's wife, is all very cavalier, all very conventional and very much in the old manner. Not so the attitude of the comtesse; she cares nothing for her title, but a great deal for her husband; and when in the end it is revealed that he is no comte, and he expresses regrets on her account, she is relieved to be rid of a title under which she had known only unhappiness. We will return to this novel attitude in a moment, but first let us look at the Argantes, in *L'Ecole des Mères*,¹²⁰ and at the *ménage* Duru in *La Femme qui a Raison*.¹²¹ Here we have the old situation of an ambitious and extravagant wife mated with a thrifty husband. In the first case it is the plain bourgeois M. Argante who reproves the pretention and ostentation of his wife and son; but in the second the moral is strangely reversed, and in this case it is the wife who is right, and into whose mouth are put speeches defending the right of the bourgeoisie to noble alliances.

To return to *Les Originaux*; in the character of the comtesse we have for the first time conjugal love treated seriously, to the very point of tears. Jealousy we have had before, and offended pride, but not tender love for a husband, and real suffering from neglect. Five years before *Les Originaux* we have *Le Philosophe Marié*,¹²² in which the main spring of the action lies in marital complications. The marriage relation is dealt with seriously, but not pathetically. It is much that the predicament of Ariste is treated without jest, but at the same time Destouches has not drawn tears as La Chaussée drew them from the identical situation eight years later.¹²³

Here we are brought to a full stop, so far as our work is concerned. We are studying the bourgeois *ménage*, endeavoring to find, if possible, whether the serious consideration of the bour-

¹²⁰ La Chaussée, 1744.

¹²¹ Voltaire, 1749.

¹²² Destouches, 1727.

¹²³ Le Préjugé à la Mode, 1735.

geois which came into vogue about this time has anything to do with the rise of the *tragédie bourgeoise*, founded as it is upon the family relation. But just here, just as the relation between husband and wife begins to be true and tender and even lachrymose, the line of bourgeois households becomes suddenly extinct, or nearly so. Ariste and Mélite themselves, of *Le Philosophe Marié*, are not bourgeois, but of the small gentry. In two of La Chaussée's plays dealing with this theme, *Le Préjugé à la Mode* and *Mélanide*,¹²⁴ all the characters concerned are noble; and in *La Fausse Antipathie*¹²⁵ we are left in doubt about the social status of Sainflore and Silvie, though it can be stated that their names are not bourgeois. Of great value to the student of the *drame*, these plays are of none whatever to the student of the bourgeois character; and to one studying the relation of the bourgeois to the *drame* their value is only negative: they merely show that a bourgeois *milieu* was not necessary to the display of so-called bourgeois sentimentality. Beverlei¹²⁶ and his wife are bourgeois, but Saurin took this directly from an English original,¹²⁷ and so it can not be counted at all in one way or the other. In *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*¹²⁸ it would seem at first as though the true and healthy affection existing between M. and Mme. Vanderk might be regarded as bearing on the subject; but here again we must remember that M. Vanderk is a Dutch merchant only by choice, and that he is in reality a French noble.

To sum up the bourgeois *ménage*, then, for our period, it may be said that during the time immediately succeeding Molière's death the tradition of the bickering couple, the Messieurs and Mesdames Jourdain, the Chrysales and Philamintes, continued to furnish material for comedy. Dancourt has given a number of this kind, some of them interesting as presenting a couple divided on the subject of social ambition. Lafont and Dufresny contribute examples, but not especially important ones, and La Chaussée and Voltaire carry it, at long intervals, into the forties, where the last case occurs in *La Femme qui a Raison*, 1749. On the whole, these family differences are harmless; the cases of actual infidelity in marriage are confined almost entirely to Dancourt, though Turcaret is a notable example.

Dancourt gives one example of a husband and wife sanely

¹²⁴ 1741.

¹²⁵ 1733.

¹²⁶ 1768.

¹²⁷ The Gamester, Edward Moore, 1753.

¹²⁸ Sedaine, 1765.

devoted to each other's interests, in M. and Mme. Jérôme. Destouches first uses the marital relation as a serious subject for drama, in 1727, and La Chaussée carries it out still further, and brings it to the point of tears; but the latter cases, those of Destouches and La Chaussée, as well as of Sedaine, do not occur in bourgeois families. Voltaire gives the one example of a loving and unfortunate and neglected wife who is at the same time a bourgeoisie.

So far, then, as the conjugal relation is concerned, we have proved that a bourgeois household is not necessary to a drama built upon domestic interest. In fact, the evidence is mostly in the other direction, since the great examples of domestic woe are to be found in the families of nobles. That it was possible to establish such interest in a bourgeois *milieu* is proved by the Comtesse in *Les Originaux*; on the other hand, that the old bickering couple persisted into this time, is shown by *L'Ecole des Mères* and *La Femme qui a Raison*. For further testimony in regard to the connection between the bourgeois and the *tragédie* that bore his name, we will have to look to the relation between parents and children, as this, even more than the marital tie, was a most fruitful source of interest in the new genre.

B. The Bourgeois Parent.

If the testimony in the case of the bourgeois *ménage* and its bearing on the *tragédie bourgeoise* seems to be somewhat inconclusive on account of the scarcity of examples, this will not be found to be the case with the relation of the parent and child. There are few comedies in which at least thus much of a family is not represented, and a common means of starting the intrigue is to establish a difference of opinion on matters, matrimonial or otherwise, between the father and mother, on the one hand, and a son or daughter on the other. This very necessity of plot gives us, for at least the first half of our period, a great abundance of cases in which the parents are on one side of a question and the daughter or son on the other. Still, difference of opinion, or even will, need not have engendered the tyranny and brutality which it is not unusual to find. Nor are there wanting parents who seem to be wholly unnatural, and hate their children on general principles. It is my purpose first to take up this type of unreasonable and tyrannous parent, tracing it from Molière until

its disappearance; and to follow this with a study of the sort of parent in whom the springs of nature are not dried up, the type which gradually passes into the sentimental and lachrymose parent of the *drame*.

1. *The Tyrannous Parent.*

In the case of the parent and child, tenderness seems to have awaked late. Tyranny and brutality and sheer unreasoning hate were the rule, and Molière himself set the pattern. He never drew an uglier scene than the triangular one of Orgon, Damis, and Tartuffe; and Harpagon and Cléante, Géronte and Léandre, are far from being samples of the loving father and dutiful son. I am not claiming this tyranny as a distinctive bourgeois trait, but it is sufficiently frequent in the bourgeois household to deserve a detailed study.

Dancourt is not so fruitful as usual on this point, though he has left some half-dozen parents who are hardly what we expect parents to be. Easily the worst of these is Harpin of *Les Enfants de Paris*,¹²⁹ who is endeavoring to get his daughter into a convent and his son into prison in order to seize their patrimony. He is brutal and repellant to a degree. Hardly better is Mme Argante of *La Folle Enchère*¹³⁰ who is said to have a noble aversion for her son, the chief reason given being that his obvious age belies her own pretences of youth. Mme. Loricart of *Le Charivari*¹³¹ has hated her husband so vigorously that she hates her daughter by him for good measure. Grognet of *Les Eaux de Bourbon*¹³² is curt and sullen to his daughter, Babet. Examples of parents who are not exactly unnatural, but who have decided views upon a daughter's tractability in the matter of marriage, are Guillemain of *La Gazette*,¹³³ Mme. Thomas of *Le Retour des Officiers*,¹³⁴ Mme. Valentin of *Les Curieux de Compiègne*,¹³⁵ and Dubuisson of *Le Galant Jardinier*.¹³⁶ There is no perceptible development in Dancourt's treatment of this characteristic. Brueys gives us two excellent samples of this sort of parent. The title of the first play, *Le Grondeur*,¹³⁷ tells us what to expect; this man who scolds at everything is not likely to spare his children. His daughter regards him with no deeper feeling than one of toleration, but toleration becomes a virtue in

¹²⁹ 1699.

¹³⁰ 1690.

¹³¹ 1697.

¹³² 1696.

¹³³ 1697.

¹³⁴ 1697.

¹³⁵ 1698.

¹³⁶ 1704.

¹³⁷ 1691.

the case of such a father as Grichard. He sneers at the idea of keeping a promise made to his eldest son, and the younger one, whom he is said to love madly, is treated with revolting brutality. In Grichard, Brueys set out deliberately to draw a character new to the stage, one whose foibles had not yet been exploited. In this he succeeds, but he does not succeed in making it comic. Avarice is a worse failing than scolding, yet Molière gets fun from the situations in which Harpagon is placed, while Brueys succeeds simply in drawing an ugly, repulsive personality. Much better is his miser Guillaume, in *L'Avocat Patelin*,¹³⁸ who has strong suspicions of his son's dishonesty. It is only just to Guillaume to add that these suspicions are quite well-founded.

Regnard gives us the most unlovely gallery of unnatural parents that the century affords, and the harsh parent is by no means always the father. In *La Sérénade*¹³⁹ we have Mme. Argante, who does not for a moment consider her daughter's inclinations in arranging a marriage for her, and M. Grifon, who adds jealousy of his son Valère to his natural hardness toward him. This rivalry between father and son is well thought of by the earlier authors of the century, and one of which they seem never to tire. Géronte of *Le Bal*¹³⁹ and he of the same name in *Le Joueur*¹³⁹ seem at first sight to be harsh and unnatural, but the former in the end concedes his daughter's wishes, while it is only the Gambler's follies that at last turn his father utterly against him. The same defense can be urged for Mme. Bertrand, (who is not indeed a mother, but an aunt) in *Le Retour Imprévu*.¹⁴⁰ If she is stern to her niece, it is no more than that niece calls down upon her own head. By far the worst of the lot is Mme. Grognaç, of *Le Distrain*,¹⁴¹ who stands as the model, not only in Regnard, but in all contemporary comedy, of the brutally unnatural mother. She has not a single pleasant word for Isabelle, and in the end declares that a daughter is a burden of which a mother gladly rids herself. Finally, we have Mme. Argante of *Le Légataire Universel*,¹⁴² who says that her daughter knows always how to obey when she orders.

Dufresny contributes a fairly good example in Mme. Oronte of *L'Esprit de Contradiction*,¹⁴³ though her inconsiderate treatment of her daughter is only part and parcel with her generally contradictory disposition. Destouches, who, as we shall see, gave

¹³⁸ 1706.

¹³⁹ 1696.

¹⁴⁰ 1700.

¹⁴¹ 1697.

¹⁴² 1708.

¹⁴³ 1700.

us the first cases of the new type of parent, has also left some of the worst of the old. In one of his very first comedies, *L'Ingrat*,¹⁴⁴ he has drawn Géronte, a father who makes categorical statements about the whole duty of a daughter and the amount of consideration that should be accorded her preferences in matrimony. A father is the sovereign of his family, and should impose the law upon it. The suitor selected by him must please his daughter, being chosen by him. The arbitrariness expressed in his earlier speeches is bad enough, but his treachery to Isabelle is still worse. He tricks her into a confession of her love for Cléon, and then flies into a rage with her for having dared to love without his permission, and threatens her with a convent. Yet, even thus early, there is a difference between this Géronte and the conventional stern parent. We have had cases notably in *Dancourt* — in which the parent insisted on the daughter's marrying a noble, though this was contrary to the dictates of the daughter's own heart. Mark the difference here: Géronte objects to Cléon, *because* he is noble, and because he is, Géronte, thinks that alliances with nobles breed no good for the bourgeois family so honored. We will have occasion¹⁴⁵ to consider Géronte again among the bourgeois who have a certain sense of the dignity of their class.

But if the old and new mingle in *L'Ingrat*, still more is this the case in *L'Irrésolu*,¹⁴⁶ in which we have two fathers, one of the old school and one of the new, who discuss at length the best methods of bringing up children. Lisimon is for the arbitrary way, and he has carried his theories into practice by assigning to his sons professions for which they were in no way fitted by nature or inclination. Pyramon, on the other hand, joins gentleness to authority in the bringing up of his son, and in the end he converts Lisimon to his way of thinking. Destouches himself indisputably sides against the autocratic plan. Oronte, of *Le Triple Mariage*,¹⁷⁴ is entirely in the old style, and opens the play with a monologue in which he deplores the possession of children, which obliges him to observe the conventionalities. To a father not yet ready to retire it is embarrassing to have a son taller than himself; and to a father who loves his money more than his daughter it is a vexatious necessity to have to marry her off, seeing she will not go into a convent. In Lisimon of *L'Obstacle*

¹⁴⁴ 1712.¹⁴⁶ Cf. p. 67.¹⁴⁶ 1713.¹⁴⁷ 1716.

*Imprévu*¹⁴⁸ we have once more a mixture of the old and new. He is as autocratic and abrupt as any of the fathers of the old style, but in the end he withdraws his suit for Julie's hand — for which Valère is his rival — in the hope that she may be able to influence Valère for his own good. Mme. Argante of *L'Enfant Gâté*¹⁴⁹ is the only case of this sort of parent in Destouches' later work, but she is a thoroughgoing one. She is the partial mother, and when the neglected daughter triumphs over the favored one, and then implores her mother's forgiveness, she is told to be off with herself. Destouches will come in for a very large share of the treatment of the new kind of parent — a kind of which he may be said to be the originator — but it will be well to remember that he has drawn some very clear portraits of the old.

After the early years of Destouches, this sort of parent declines rapidly. Marivaux has left two examples, only one of which is of much value. Mme. Argante of *L'Ecole des Mères*¹⁵⁰ gives her daughter a bad quarter of an hour when she learns that she has deceived her, but in the end she shows herself complacent. Mme. Argante of *L'Epreuve*,¹⁵¹ on the other hand, is as harsh and cruel as any mother of Regnard's picturing. Voltaire contributes but one case in Rondon, of *L'Enfant Prodigue*,¹⁵² who is arbitrary in the matter of Lise's marriage, and who combines, as is not infrequently the case, the desire for a rich son-in-law with the disposition to override his daughter's wishes. Mme. Argant of La Chaussée's *Ecole des Mères*¹⁵³ has placed her daughter in a convent at the age of two, and refuses to take her from it now that she is grown. This would seem to be the act of an unnatural mother, but it must be remembered that she had done this out of excessive love for her son, that she had never seen Marianne, and that as soon as she does see her, though her daughter's relationship to herself is unknown, nature begins to work, and we get at last the *cri du sang* for which the ear of the time was ever strained. Hence Mme. Argant can scarcely be classed with the harsh parents. On the other hand, Florise, of *Le Méchant*,¹⁵⁴ is entirely of the old type, and in this, as in other particulars, Gresset has proved his kinship with Molière and the earlier authors. Florise is cruel and harsh to

¹⁴⁸ 1717.

¹⁴⁹ 1736.

¹⁵⁰ 1741.

¹⁵¹ 1744.

¹⁵² 1732.

¹⁵³ 1745.

¹⁵⁴ 1740.

Chloé, and it is no palliation to urge that the motive of her actions was jealousy. Later than this the type does not occur at all.

The fullest, as well as the final, discussion of the relation of parents to children, must come after we have examined the rise of the new variety of family tie. For the present it will be enough to say that the unfeeling, harsh, and even brutal father—and not unfrequently mother—was the rule among the earlier authors. Dancourt, Brueys, Dufresny, and especially Regnard, have used scarcely any other type. Destouches started with some clear cases of it, but apparently under protest, and always with signs of disapproval; and at all events, abandons it early for the opposite extreme. Marivaux has one slight but distinct picture, Voltaire one—these in 1740 and 1736 respectively—and Gresset closes the line in 1745 with an example that belongs with the very earliest types.

2. *The Growth of the Family Tie.*

In the preceding section I endeavored to show the continuance and the extinction of the type of parent unreasonable, unfeeling, harsh, overbearing, severe to the point of brutality, which Molière has given us at its worst in Orgon and Harpagon. In this chapter I will try to trace the rise of the opposite type, the parent affectionate, tender, devoted to the interests of the child; as well as the development of the dutiful son, and first stirrings of that family affection, that *cri du sang*, which is to occupy so large a place in the drama of the mid-century, and is to give us in its fullest development the *Père de Famille* and the *Philosophe sans le savoir*.

I can think of no scene in Molière where family affection holds any prominent place. One notable reunion there is, to be sure, that at the end of *L'Avare*, where Anselme finds his long lost children in Valère and Mariane. But Anselme is so obviously *deus ex machina*, and the whole episode so much in the nature of what-you-will, that it leaves us cold. At best we can only say that we are much more concerned with the fact that Cléante may now marry Mariane, and Valère Elise, than that a bereaved father has recovered his family.

Up to the time of Destouches there are few cases of positive affection for a child, and we must satisfy ourselves with a limited number of examples in which the parent is not absolutely un-

reasonable to the son or daughter; in which the conduct is only such as would be dictated by ordinary justice, and in which parental affection plays no prominent part. And such sentiment as is to be found in these earlier plays is usually a mere matter of a speech or two, or a device for clearing up the situation at the end, where it is necessary that parental sternness give way to the exigencies of the love affairs of the young people. It is not until Destouches' time that this sentiment is developed for its own sake, and made more or less the motive of action.

Dancourt gives no valuable testimony on this point, and only in four instances is affection even hinted at. *La Parisienne*¹⁵⁵ offers two cases, one in Olimpe, a mother who for reasons of necessity would contract a marriage of money for her daughter, but does not wish to force her will, and the other in Damis, who good-naturedly yields the field to his son when he finds that the latter is the preferred suitor. The other two instances are a little more positive. Orgon of *Le Galant Jardinier*¹⁵⁶ is overjoyed at finding the son whom he had believed to be dead, and forgives all that had gone before. Mme. Amelin of *Les Bourgeoises à la Mode*¹⁵⁷ has a son who denies her and his entire class, but she loves him in spite of herself, and is proud of his very assumption of nobility which makes him ashamed to acknowledge her.

Regnard, who excelled in drawing the arbitrary parent, scarcely touched on this type. At best we have only the two Gérontes already mentioned: he of *Le Bal*¹⁵⁸ and he of *Le Joueur*.¹⁵⁸ Both of these fathers have points of relationship with the old style, but in the end Géronte of *Le Bal* assures *Léonor* that he has no intention of forcing her will, while the father of the Gambler exclaims:

Ah! qu'un père est heureux, qui voit en un moment
Un cher fils revenir de son égarement!

And even as he delivers his final malediction to his son, we feel that he has first done all that he honestly could to wean him from his follies.

When we reach Destouches we enter upon a new era. In one of the earliest of his extant comedies we find the dawning

¹⁵⁵ 1691.

¹⁵⁶ 1704.

¹⁵⁷ 1692.

¹⁵⁸ 1696.

of this family sentiment, and he continues to use it with more or less effect till the very end of his career. *L'Ingrat*,¹⁵⁹ his second play, contains Ariste, who is not indeed himself a parent, but who is set up in opposition to his brother G ronte, who is harsh and treacherous to his daughter. Ariste argues for the rights of the daughter, and contends that in the matter of marriage a father should abdicate his authority in favor of the wishes of the child, otherwise authority degenerates into mere tyranny. The year after *L'Ingrat* came *L'Irr solu*,¹⁶⁰ in which we have the much more positive type of Pyrante. Here is a father who is an out-and-out advocate of the new system of bringing up a son, and who is placed in formal contrast to a father of the old school. Pyrante stands for gentleness and reason and moderation, and his views are best expressed in the couplet:

Je cherche son go t, il se conforme au mien.
Mon fils est mon ami, comme je suis le sien.

Most significant of all, at the end Pyrante converts Lisimon to his own methods, and proves that his is the way productive of the best results.

The two types of parent may be said to be joined in the single character of Lisimon, of *L'Obstacle Impr vu*.¹⁶¹ This Lisimon is as harsh and abrupt and disagreeable as any in the whole gallery of arbitrary parents, but at the end he feels the stirrings of nature. He is his son's rival, but he withdraws from the field in the hope that Julie may be able to influence Val re for the good. But a character in this play still more important for us at this point is Lycandre, who appears at the end to bring about the d nouement much as Anselme does in *L'Avare*. This is in the first case of the family reunion in the fifth act since Moli re, but it is far from being the last. Julie, too, the daughter of Lycandre, starts that chorus of voices uttering the *cri du sang*, when she cries: "Ah, je dois vous reconnaître   la tendresse que j'avais pour vous."

This sentiment of the bond between father and child is more pronounced in *Le Philosophe Mari *.¹⁶² Here Ariste, who has a secret marriage on his conscience, hesitates to tell his father, but says that he fears his sorrow more than his anger. Ariste is expecting an inheritance from his uncle, but he does

¹⁵⁹ 1712.¹⁶⁰ 1713.¹⁶¹ 1717.¹⁶² 1727.

not hesitate to tell him that he values his father's blessing above the inheritance, when the uncle scoffs at the father. Lisimon, the father, too, is in a new position, for he is financially dependant upon his son, and he holds himself honored so to be placed. But right here there is a most significant fact to be noticed: Lisimon and Ariste are not bourgeois, but *gentilshommes*. This fact has an important bearing on the final question which is to be solved if possible: is the change in the family relation the result of a change in the treatment of the bourgeois?

We are not yet on bourgeois ground in *Le Glorieux*,¹⁰³ where we have the full-length portrait of the father as the father, even more distinct than in *Le Philosophe Marié*. The father and daughter are Lycandre and Lisette, and the situation is the one so dear to the melodramatic author: that of the father or mother living in the presence of the child, to whom the relationship is unknown. Though the play is called *Le Glorieux*, Lisette, sister of the boastful one, is the real heroine, and much of the play concerns her precarious position, and her relations to her father. She feels the drawing of the ties of blood toward her brother, and her relations with her father, before as well as after the revelation of his identity, are tender in the extreme. The last act is almost entirely occupied with the bringing together of the family. Unfortunately for our purposes, all the persons concerned are noble.

In *L'Enfant Gâté*¹⁰⁴ we have a novel combination of an unjust mother and a forgiving daughter. Sophie holds that if her mother prefers Pulchérie, it is at the dictates of nature, and in any event the mother's course of action is not to be questioned.

Finally, in *Le Jeune Homme à l'Épreuve*¹⁰⁵ we meet with a play built firmly upon the filial and paternal relation. It concerns the correcting and chastening of a prodigal son, which is not, to be sure, a novel theme, but which Destouches handles in a style to which he had been growing since his earlier plays. Léandre has been ruined, not through the severity of his father, but by his over indulgence, and even when the father, Géronte, sees the advisability of laying on the rod, he is held to his task only by the resolute Lisimon. He finds it impossible to be stern with his son, and his one attempt at severity ends in endearing terms. Léandre, too, expresses great love and respect for his

¹⁰³ 1732.

¹⁰⁴ 1741.

¹⁰⁵ 1751.

father, and this is, in reality, the means of bringing him back to the narrow path.

Destouches, then, is an innovator in this: he develops as a serious motive the expression of the ties of blood in the family, he uses domestic situations to excite the emotions of his audience, he gives such situations a prominent place in the plays in which they occur, and finally he builds a play entirely upon the family bond. And the plays containing this situation are laid in a bourgeois *milieu* with the very notable exceptions of *Le Philosophe Marié* and *Le Glorieux*.

Voltaire was especially fond of using the tie between parents and children, and made it the center of several of what he calls his *comédies attendrissantes*. In *L'Indiscret*,¹⁶⁶ the first scene between the indiscreet hero and his mother, Euphémie, is not especially touching, but Euphémie does appear as a kind, sensible mother advising a son wisely for his own good, and is in most wholesome contrast to some of the she-dragons who have done duty as mothers in some of the earlier comedy. *Les Originaux*¹⁶⁷ contains a family reunion at the end, but is not notable for its tenderness of sentiment, the meeting being merely a device to help along the dénouement. In *L'Enfant Prodigue*,¹⁶⁸ however, we have this sentiment of the family tie full-blown, and the main interest of the play hinges upon this feeling. Euphémon *père* is the anguished, weeping type of father that Destouches had introduced in *Le Philosophe Marié* and *Le Glorieux*, and which Diderot will delight in a little later. Euphémon is a father who loves his son in spite of his follies, and is overcome at merely meeting a stranger who has seen the prodigal. Euphémon *fils* is the usual melodramatic scapegrace who turns out to be really good at heart in spite of a long list of misdeeds. He is imbued with a profound respect for his father. In the three examples just cited, we know that the Euphémons of *L'Enfant Prodigue* and the Cap-Verts of *Les Originaux* are bourgeois, and Euphémie of *L'Indiscret* may be so, for all we are told to the contrary. In the plays that follow, Voltaire does not again use the bourgeois family to illustrate the tenderness of the ties of blood. In *L'Ecossaïse*,¹⁶⁹ in *Le Droit du Seigneur*,¹⁷⁰ and in *Charlot*,¹⁷¹ especially in the first, we have the unhappy and lachrymose parent, and the dutiful child, but the family in each case is

¹⁶⁶ 1725.¹⁶⁷ 1732.¹⁶⁸ 1736.¹⁶⁹ 1760.¹⁷⁰ 1762.¹⁷¹ 1769.

noble. So the state of affairs in Voltaire is as follows: he made frequent use of domestic interest as dramatic material, and gave us some of the most *sensible* parents and children, but he used bourgeois and nobles in about equal proportion.

Marivaux, who gives us little of value on any point in connection with the bourgeois, has drawn, in two instances, pictures of the bourgeois parent that are pleasant to contemplate. M. Damis of *L'Ecole des Mères*¹⁷² forgives his son freely and readily when he finds him to be the successful suitor against himself, and M. Orgon of *Le Jcu de l'Amour et du Hasard*¹⁷³ is a most delightful example of a kind and considerate father allowing his daughter to follow the dictates of her heart in choosing a husband, and even insisting on her having no regard for his preferences in such a choice. Much like this Orgon of Marivaux, but much more fully developed, is Piron's Francaleu, of *La Métromanie*,¹⁷⁴ who is all complacency and kindness toward his daughter, and presents a pleasing picture of paternal love and reasonableness.

Guyot de Merville, in the one successful comedy of his that has come down to us, *Le Consentement Forcé*,¹⁷⁴ uses the filial motif conspicuously. Cléante reminds one strongly of Ariste in *Le Philosophe Marié*, in that he has a secret marriage which he hesitates to confide to his father; and he goes farther than Ariste when he declares that he can live neither without the possession of Clarice nor without the love of his father. Clarice herself, when she swoons in the presence of her father-in-law, explains the circumstance by the fact that he resembled her own father, whom she cherished infinitely, and: "Les traits d'un père digne de la plus parfaite vénération fait toujours une profonde impression sur l'âme d'une fille qui sait son devoir." The family in *Le Consentement Forcé* is apparently bourgeois.

La Chaussée uses the theme of parental love as the center of two of his plays, *L'Ecole des Mères*¹⁷⁵ and *La Gouvernante*,¹⁷⁶ makes it of equal importance with conjugal love in *Mélanide*,¹⁷⁷ and gives it a prominent place in *Paméla*¹⁷⁸ and *L'Homme de Fortune*.¹⁷⁹ Of these, *Paméla* may be disregarded, as it is only a more or less faithful copy of the English original; of the others, *L'Ecole des Mères* and *L'Homme de Fortune* only have

¹⁷² 1732.

¹⁷⁶ 1747.

¹⁷³ 1730.

¹⁷⁷ 1741.

¹⁷⁴ 1738.

¹⁷⁸ 1743.

¹⁷⁵ 1744.

¹⁷⁹ 1751.

a bourgeois milieu. In the first we have the singular case of a mother over indulgent to one child, her son, and unnaturally indifferent to the other. As has been said, however, she is indifferent to Marianne only so long as she does not see her, and feels the bond of nature when she is brought into contact with her misused daughter. This situation, that of the mother not knowing the identity of her child, is the reverse of the one usually affected by La Chaussée and others of his time: the one in which the child does not know the parent. This is the case in *Mélanide* and *La Gouvernante*. In *L'Homme de Fortune* Brice's affection for his son is founded on reason and common-sense, an affection that refuses to allow his son to make himself ridiculous by assuming a title to which he has no right, or by marrying into a noble family.

In Collé's play of *Dupuis et Des Ronais*,¹⁸⁰ Dupuis is opposed to the marriage of his daughter with Des Ronais, and is not even straightforward in his opposition; but the reason for his position is distinctly novel: it is his very great love for his daughter that makes him refuse her to Des Ronais, and the fear of being left alone by his deserted hearth. Dupuis is a financier, and bourgeois.

Diderot would be of great importance at this place, but his two plays, *Le Père de Famille*,¹⁸¹ and *Le Fils Naturel*,¹⁸² deal altogether with people who are either noble or of undefined social status. This fact in itself is to be noted, since no one else in the century tried so hard, perhaps, to build up the new genre as Diderot; certainly no one else worked with such a distinct sense that he was an innovator. And for this purpose Diderot did not use the bourgeois family. No more did Sedaine, for his Vanderks are noble, though for all intents and purposes they might be considered bourgeois. Whichever they are, it is certain that *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*¹⁸³ is the most successful attempt of the century to use parental tenderness as the center and theme of the action, and the only one, perhaps, that would move us in the slightest degree on the stage today.

Beaumarchais was especially fond of this theme, and introduces it three times, not to speak of the startling dénouement in *Le Mariage de Figaro*, in which Marcelline turns out to be the mother of Figaro. It figures in all three of his *dramas*, but in

¹⁸⁰ 1763.¹⁸¹ 1760.¹⁸² 1757.¹⁸³ 1765.

*Eugénie*¹⁸⁴ and *La Mère Coupable*¹⁸⁵ the characters concerned are noble. In *Les Deux Amis*,¹⁸⁶ however, there are two cases to illustrate the strength of the family tie among the bourgeois. The relations of the Mélacs, *père* and *fils*, are strongly reminiscent of those of the Vanderks, and show that a young man of the bourgeois could defend his father's honor as hotly as Don Rodrigo. As for Aurelly, he is in the old, old situation of bringing up his daughter in ignorance of her relation to him. The scene of his revelation of himself to her is as touching as any in Destouches or La Chaussée, and much better managed. Beaumarchais' proportion of bourgeois to nobles in his dealing with this theme is, therefore, one to two, if we consider the plays in which they occur, or two to two, if we take them by families, as *Les Deux Amis* contains two instances.

For the period of our study the relation of the parent to the child would seem, then, to be as follows: in the earlier authors, the rule is the arbitrary, unreasonable, tyrannical parent, exercising despotic power over the child, especially in the matter of marriage. Dancourt gives little else on this subject, and Regnard excels in the portrayal of this type. Dufresny contributes one example, and Destouches in his earlier plays uses the type sparingly. After this it falls rapidly into abeyance. Marivaux barely touches on it, and Voltaire gives one example of it; these both in the thirties; and Gresset gives the last great case of it in 1745.

The other, the opposite type, rises as this disappears. Dancourt gives a few parents who deal with their children reasonably and affectionately, and Regnard furnishes two who are not absolutely opposed to their children's happiness. But these are merely negative types. Destouches is the first formally to advance the rights of the child, as he is the first to appreciate the emotional capital to be found in the parental and filial relation. He pushes this interest to a more and more prominent place, until finally he makes it the leading motif in one of his later plays. This last, however, came after Voltaire and La Chaussée had accomplished the same thing. Voltaire was quick to follow Destouches' lead, and used the family bond a number of times, finally relying on it for the main interest, first, in *L'Enfant Prodigue*, and later in *Charlot*. La Chaussée used it in three instances, and threw the

¹⁸⁴ 1767.

¹⁸⁵ 1792.

¹⁸⁶ 1770.

burden of the plot on it in *La Gouvernante*. Marivaux and Piron each give us loving and reasonable parents, without, however, pushing this motif to the fore. Guyot de Merville bases a short play on it. Finally, Diderot and Sedaine each founds his dramatic masterpiece upon this tie between father and son, and Beaumarchais, while he never employs it as the absolute center of the action, uses it prominently in all three of his *dramas*.

And now for the crux: how much of all this transpired in the bourgeois family? Was family affection considered to be essentially, or even especially, a bourgeois trait? Omitting the earlier, and merely negative examples from Dancourt and Regnard, and beginning with Destouches, who was the first to make real dramatic capital out of this family interest, we find the following proportion: the bourgeois household is the scene of *L'Irrésolu*, *L'Enfant Gâté*, and *Le Jeune Homme à l'Epreuve*, of Destouches; *Le Consentement Forcé* of Guyot de Merville; *L'Enfant Prodigue* of Voltaire; *L'Ecole des Mères* of La Chaussée; *Dupuis et Des Ronsais* of Collé; and *Les Deux Amis* of Beaumarchais. On the other hand, the *milieu* of titles claims the very important plays *Le Philosophe Marié* and *Le Glorieux* of Destouches; *L'Ecoissaise*, *Le Droit du Seigneur*, and *Charlot*, of Voltaire; *Mélanide* and *La Gouvernante*, of La Chaussée; *Le Fils Naturel* and *Le Père de Famille*, of Diderot; and *Eugénie* and *La Mère Coupable*, of Beaumarchais. *Le Philosophe sans le savoir* of Sedaine can not be counted on either side, as the Vanderks are in reality noble, though living a bourgeois life.

The conclusion must be, then, that this *tragédie bourgeoise* was by no means confined to a *personnel* drawn from the bourgeois class. It does not, indeed, deal with kings and princes, but it regards marquis and chevaliers as being quite as susceptible to the family tie as are those in the humbler walks of society.

III. THE RISE OF THE CLASS-CONSCIOUS BOURGEOIS.

The bourgeois is divided into two great classes. The one we have studied; it is the class of which M. Jourdain is the immortal type, the bourgeois struggling and aspiring, seeking to rid himself of his bourgeoisie, and aping at all points a nobility into which he is striving to force an entrance, and by which in the meantime he is allowing himself to be mulcted. The other

class includes those bourgeois who are at least satisfied to be frankly bourgeois, and later those who will be proud of their bourgeoisie. Both these types have their rise in Molière, but their development exhibits widely differing phenomena; or rather, only the second class can be said to develop after Molière's time. The first we have in its apogee in Molière's own *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*; and from him it declines steadily, though it never disappears entirely from the stage.

One point is to be noted about the old class before taking up the new: while the aspiring bourgeois endures forever on the stage — as he endures forever in society — he soon ceases to be ridiculous. M. Jourdain, as we know, was frankly so; Dancourt modeled himself closely on Molière, and Regnard did so, in so far as he treated the type at all, though Regnard never brings the social struggle to the foreground; Corneille and De Visé, Boursault, Le Sage, and Brueys introduce the type, but not prominently; D'Allainval is the last to make a play of the bourgeois in his comic aspect. Destouches gives a full-length study of the titled bourgeois, but wrests no fun from the situation; and La Chaussée, Voltaire, Poinset, and Saurin continue, at long intervals, to paint the bourgeois of social aspirations, but they do not smile at their own creations; they recognize no difference between the one who buys or assumes his title, and the one who is born to it.

As for the opposite class, that is, the class without social ambition, Molière himself defined the type as we have it for long years after his death: a type negative rather than positive, the good bourgeois who is driven to take a common-sense stand because of the folly of another, usually that of the matrimonial yoke mate, rather than from an innate sense of the dignity of the bourgeoisie. Of this type the great exemplars are Mme. Jourdain and Chrysale, and on the farcical plane, Gorgibus of *Les Précieuses Ridicules*. Differ as they may in detail, the three have this in common, that they are keenly alive to the absurdity of their families' pretensions, and seek to cool their enthusiasm by hard-headed arguments and unsympathetic facts.

Dancourt, who follows Molière so closely in his delineation of the bourgeois on his ridiculous side, is not more positive than he in drawing the opposite type. His sensible bourgeois are

never anything but mere foils to the foolish ones. Mme. Patin of *Le Chevalier à la Mode*¹⁸⁷ has set over against her M. Serrefort, her brother-in-law, and M. Migaud, her suitor; Mme. Bernard of *La Maison de Campagne*¹⁸⁸ and Mme. Blandineau of *Les Bourgeoises de Qualité*,¹⁸⁹ each is balanced by a common-sense husband, Bélise of *La Déroute du Pharaon*¹⁹⁰ by her brother Bartolin, and Mme. Loricart of *Le Charivari*¹⁹¹ by her brother-in-law Cléonte. La Greffière of *Les Bourgeoises de Qualité* acquires a husband of sound sense in M. Naquart, but this occurs as the curtain comes down, and we are not shown the result of the union. Not all the examples in this class are men, though most of them are. Mme. Argante of *Les Enfants de Paris*¹⁹² is paired with her amorous and miserly brother, Harpin; Mme. Brillart of *Colin-Maillard*¹⁹³ has all the sound sense her nephew ought to have. In Mme. Tarif and Mme. Jérôme of *Le Vert-Galant*¹⁹² we have two home-keeping, home-loving, virtuous wives.

Leaving Dancourt, we come to Destouches; and here we find at once an advance toward something more positive. In *L'Ingrat*,¹⁹⁴ Géronte opposes his daughter Isabelle's marriage to Cléon because the latter is a noble, and he comes out full and strong against the alliance of the bourgeois with the noble, and holds that nothing can come of such a union but unhappiness for the bourgeois wife and her family. Géronte's motives are selfish, if you will, in that he has a very clear prevision of his own loss of dignity under the new order of things following such a marriage. But it is a point in his favor that he feels that the bourgeois has a dignity to lose, a dignity not to be bought for any false luster shed by a title in the family.

Destouches' next figure is that of Géronte in *Le Philosophe Marié*,¹⁹⁵ who is, to reverse the Molièresque title, a *gentilhomme bourgeois*. This Géronte has voluntarily abandoned the nobility to take up trade, and vigorously defends his course. It is plain, however, that Destouches does not approve of him, but favors his brother, Lisimon, who has elected the noble estate, and poverty therewith. When we come to Lisimon of *Le Glorieux*,¹⁹⁶ the terms are once more inverted, and we return to the Molière model. Lisimon has attained what M. Jourdain was striving for,

¹⁸⁷ 1687.¹⁸⁹ 1699.¹⁸⁸ 1688.¹⁸⁸ 1700.¹⁸⁹ 1700.¹⁹⁴ 1712.¹⁹⁰ 171-.¹⁹⁵ 1727.¹⁹¹ 1697.¹⁹⁶ 1732.

and is an attested member of the titled class. He is arranging a match for his daughter which will clinch still tighter his hold on the nobility, but after all there is a difference between him and the old type. He is unabashed at the insolence of his prospective son-in-law, and meets impudence with impudence. Finally, he declares formally that his money is a good and sufficient title, as good as that resulting from birth. Less equivocal than this Lisimon, however, is De Neuchâtel of *L'Enfant Gâté*.¹⁹⁷ He has all the self-reliance and self-respect of Lisimon and of Géronte of *L'Ingrat*, without any of their unpleasantness. He holds that a generous, honorable, unostentatious bourgeois is quite as good as the possessor of a fine name who has neither the means nor the desire to add to the luster of that name. Finally, Lisimon of *Le Jeune Homme à l'Epreuve*¹⁹⁸ is a fine specimen of the sound-headed, sound-hearted bourgeois, though class distinction is not emphasized in his case.

Coming now to D'Allainval, we find again the negative type of the common-sense bourgeois, that which is used merely as a foil to the ambitious ones. In *L'Ecole des Bourgeois*¹⁹⁹ it is M. Mathieu who is set over against Mme. Abraham and her daughter. In this D'Allainval follows Molière and Dancourt, as he does in the more important characters. Of the same negative value are the characters of a play produced the same year, *Le Procureur Arbitre*²⁰⁰ of Poisson. Here we have the refreshing figure of an honest lawyer, and two bourgeois who are carrying on a contest, not of avarice, but of generosity. And the year before these appeared, we have *Le Français à Londres*²⁰¹ of De Boissy. This play contains the peculiar figure of Jacques Rosbif, an English merchant. He is the conventional Englishman still in vogue on the continental stage, but he strikes the keynote of the time when he says: "Je me moque d'une noblesse imaginaire. Les vrais gentilshommes ce sont les honnêtes gens; il n'y a que vice de roturier."

Piron's two bourgeois in *La Métromanie*²⁰² make no especial profession of the rights of the bourgeois class, but they are worthy examples of respectable and self-respecting citizens conducting themselves with dignity in situations which might easily be rendered ridiculous. Baliveau argues from the stand-point of sound common-sense, and is the unidealistic, unpoetic, matter-

¹⁹⁷ 1741.

¹⁹⁸ 1751.

¹⁹⁹ 1728.

²⁰⁰ 1728.

²⁰¹ 1727.

²⁰² 1738.

of-fact person that we take today as the standard of the middle class; while Francaleu holds that the real spirit of bourgeoisie consists in a lack of taste and an adherence to material standards, and that a brilliant work of letters is a title in itself to nobility. This is the unique case, as far as I have been able to discover, of a bourgeois criticising his own class for the possession of those qualities which are today comprised under the broader significance of the term *bourgeois*.

We might expect revolutionary treatment from Voltaire, and we are not to be disappointed, though it is not until his later plays that we find much of any value. The Comtesse des Arrêts in *Les Originaux*²⁰³ gladly consents to give up a title which she finds is spurious, and is happy to relinquish a name under which she had known only unhappiness. Euphémon père and fils of *L'Enfant Prodigue*²⁰⁴ are handled with sympathy, though Rondon and Fierenfat are extreme examples of the old type. M. Duru of *La Femme qui a Raison*²⁰⁵ opposes his wife's scheme for a noble alliance for his children, but his motive is avarice much more than dignity, and it is plainly Mme. Duru who has the author's sympathy. The finest bourgeois that Voltaire ever drew is Freeport, the English merchant of *L'Ecossaïse*.²⁰⁶ He, like Jacques Rosbif, is the sort of Englishman that flourishes on the French stage, and the like of which never existed off it. Blunt, unceremonious to the point of rudeness, despising all show, even of breeding, scorning kings and lords alike, on the other hand generous and magnanimous to a degree, he shows, much more than of Voltaire's other bourgeois, the consciousness of class and the independence of rank and station on the part of real worth. Finally, though the characters in *Le Droit du Seigneur*²⁰⁷ and *Charlot*²⁰⁸ are not bourgeois, there are certain passages in each of them contrasting the privileges of the nobles with those of the third estate, that look forward unequivocally to 1789.

Géronte of *Le Méchant*²⁰⁹ is unashamed of either his bourgeoisie or his provincialism, and Ariste, of the same play, is of the calm, sensible type that recalls the Ariste of *Les Femmes Savantes*. These, however, are not especially well-pronounced examples, and it is reserved for the last three of the type to bring it to its highest point of conscious worthiness and dignity.

²⁰³ 1732²⁰⁶ 1769.²⁰⁴ 1736.²⁰⁷ 1762.²⁰⁵ 1749.²⁰⁸ 1745.²⁰⁶ 1760.

The first of these is Brice, the financier of La Chaussée's *L'Homme de Fortune*.²¹⁰ This bourgeois is serene in the consciousness of the dignity of his class, and refuses a ready-made family tree from a professional genealogist. He is scrupulously honest in his money affairs, and this honesty is publicly recognized. Finally, he does not, like Voltaire's Freeport, sustain his own bourgeois dignity by despising the nobility; he has the greatest respect for this class. His ward, Méranie, is the daughter of a vicomte, and Brice refuses to allow his son to marry her, on account of their difference of station. It is the Vicomte d'Elbon himself who offers Méranie to the young bourgeois, out of the great regard he has for the father.

Sedaine's Vanderk, of *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*,²¹¹ sustains even more formally the honor of his class. In a scene devoted entirely to the exploitation of this theme, he places the merchant in a position of responsibility second in the state only to that of the magistrate and the soldier. He himself has given up the rank to which he was born to enter this class, and the whole play hinges upon the duel about to be fought by Vanderk *fils* to avenge certain aspersions cast upon the class by a young noble. Vanderk *père* represents the culmination of this class that is sustained by a sense of the dignity of being useful. Scarcely less successful, however, is Aurelly, of *Les Deux Amis*,²¹² in whom Beaumarchais has drawn the bourgeois recently titled, who, far from dropping trade when he enters the nobility, "can not better recognize the new blessing he owes to commerce than by continuing in it." And it is he who, in reply to a compliment that the best use of letters of nobility is to decorate citizens as useful as himself, delivers a fine speech in which he claims utility as the standard by which all men should be judged, and judged by that standard, he offers the merchant as the bone and sinew of the state. In his fine self-reliance and conscious worth, Aurelly is not inferior to Vanderk, though he is not in other respects so sympathetic a character.

The rise and development of this type of bourgeois, self-respecting and respecting his class, is fairly coincident with the rise of the bourgeois to a place of importance in the body social. The opportunity of the bourgeois came at the time of the regency, and it is just at this time that Destouches takes up the character

²¹⁰ 1751.

²¹¹ 1765.

²¹² 1770.

as a subject for serious dramatic treatment. As, in the progress of the century, the government gets into closer and closer financial straits, and so becomes more and more dependent on the moneyed classes, so does the bourgeois on the stage assume a more dignified and self-reliant mien. Introduced and developed by Destouches, De Boissy and Poisson carry it on in a modified form, Piron gives two fine examples of it, Voltaire carries it far toward a revolutionary attitude, and finally it culminates in La Chaussée, Sedaine, and Beaumarchais, who each builds a play on the dignity and integrity of the merchant class.

One final query: what is the connection between this new point of view in regard to the bourgeois, and the *tragédie bourgeoise*? We have already seen that the latter was by no means confined to the families of the middle classes, but that a bourgeois tragedy could transpire in the household of a noble. In so far as these tragedies are laid in the homes of the bourgeois, it can be said that such a serious situation would have been impossible in dealing with the old type of ridiculous bourgeois favored by Molière and Dancourt: it is only after he had become himself a serious and self-reliant citizen that he could be used for grave dramatic crises. Destouches, who is the first to introduce this new type, is also the first to shadow forth the *drame*; but his use of the two innovations is by no means parallel. His best examples of *drame* founded on family relations occur in *Le Philosophe Marié* and *Le Glorieux*, but neither of these is laid among bourgeois characters; while the best specimen of the self-respecting bourgeois is De Neuchâtel of *L'Enfant Gâté*, who has absolutely nothing to do with family ties of any sort. Piron's Francaleu is at once a kind father and a sensible bourgeois; Voltaire, on the other hand, presents Freeport, his one great example of this type of bourgeois, as without family connections of any kind, and in his plays founded on the domestic tie, the bourgeois either does not appear, or if he does, does not insist on class differences. La Chaussée, who uses the family relation to excess, has but one example of this sort of bourgeois, and Diderot does not consider this or any other sort. It is not until we come to Sedaine and Beaumarchais that we find the two combined, and even here the conditions are far from being conclusive, for Vanderk is not a bona-fide bourgeois, and

Beaumarchais uses the bourgeois *milieu* for his *dramas* once, against two cases in which he employs the noble.

It must be said, then, that the development of the *tragédie bourgeoise* and of the class-conscious bourgeois is synchronous, but not interdependent. The most that can be claimed on the other side is that a certain number — not the greater number nor the most important cases — of *dramas* are laid in bourgeois families, and that such *dramas* would have been impossible had not the bourgeois himself become a serious dramatic character. But that the development of the *drame* was helped by this new type, or that the *drame* would not have arisen without the parallel development of the common-sense bourgeois, I cannot find any evidence to show. The work of Diderot and La Chaussée is unequivocally against such a conclusion; Destouches, Voltaire, and Beaumarchais are divided, but they also throw the weight of their heaviest plays against it.

I must, therefore, side with Lanson in his definition of the *drame bourgeois*, which is that it deals with persons of private life;²¹³ and against those critics²¹⁴ who view the genre as a concession to the increasing importance of the bourgeois in society.

²¹³ Cf. p. 19.

²¹⁴ Cf. Introduction, pp. 21-23.

SUMMARY.

As each section in the preceding chapter is closed with a summary, and as the work of each author has been summarized in the chapter analysing the characters, it will not be necessary to go into detail in the present section, of which the object is to give in brief space and comprehensible form the substance of the conclusions reached in this study.

We find that throughout the period the bourgeois never flagged as a subject for dramatic treatment. For about the first forty years after Molière's death, that is, until about 1710, he is always the comic type, and is not considered as a serious member of society. This is natural, as during this time comedy and tragedy were still well-defined genres, and the bourgeois could not naturally figure in tragedies. All the characters drawn from the middle class during this time follow more or less faithfully the types established by Molière, and of these types it is M. Jourdain, the *bourgeois ridicule par excellence*, who has the most adherents. Dancourt excelled in the delineation of this type. Next in frequency of occurrence comes the miser, the descendant of Harpagon, and in this type Regnard is most at home, though the bourgeois troubled Regnard but little at best. After the bourgeois made ridiculous by social pretensions or by avarice, come those who lay themselves open to derision by their vagaries in love, the preferred method being to make an elderly man or woman fall in love with a young person. For this type the model is to be found in Arnolphe and Bélise.

These types do not by any means pass from the stage with the passing of Dancourt and Regnard and their contemporaries, but they become much more sporadic, and can not be said to constitute any regular line after this time. Pure comedy, as Molière understood it, also began to fall into abeyance about this time. At rather long intervals, D'Allainval, Piron, and Gresset give brilliant examples of the old comedy, and in all these the bourgeois figures, but only in the play of the first-named is he as Molière drew him. As for Le Sage, his Turcaret is a new creation, placed in the old genre, and is without descendants, as he is practically without an ancestor.

With this decline of comedy, the province of the bourgeois is naturally limited, but a new field is open to him in the *drame*, which takes an official position on the stage in the thirties, though Destouches had been experimenting with it for twenty years before. But the old bourgeois does not fit into this new frame, and side by side with this new dramatic genre grows up a new dramatic type. This new type of bourgeois begins by being merely not ridiculous, and from this he passes to a more positive position of sound sense, self-reliance, and class-conscious dignity. But while these two, the new *drame* and the new bourgeois, grew up together, it can not be said that either was dependent upon the other for its inception. On the other hand, it is shown most conclusively that either could exist independently of the other. There are many cases — the majority of them, in fact — in which the *tragédie bourgeoise* has to deal with nobles, and there are not a few common-sense bourgeois to be found in the pure comedy of the time, or in the *drame* under circumstances that have nothing to do with the essential qualities that distinguish the *drame*. It is true, however, that both the *drame* and the class-conscious bourgeois reach their culmination in the hands of the same two masters, Beaumarchais and Sedaine, and that *Les Deux Amis* and *Le Philosophe sans le savoir* are both successful *dramas*, both deal with the sensible, serious bourgeois, and are, most important of all, founded upon the exercise of bourgeois virtues and upon the maintenance of bourgeois dignity, honesty, and integrity.

That this interdependence, which has been claimed by some critics,¹ does not exist, I have tried to show in the preceding pages. I have also tried, by careful analysis of characters and tracing of motives and lines of descent, to follow step by step the change that took place in the bourgeois as a dramatic type from M. Jourdain to Messrs. Vanderk and Aurelly, to bridge the distance which separates *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* from *Les Deux Amis*, produced just one hundred years apart, and to see to what extent this change follows the subversion that was taking place in society. If this study contributes in the slightest degree to the history of the French stage, or in a broader sense to the history of ideas in the century that led up to the great revolution, its object will be accomplished.

¹ Cf. Introduction, pp. 21-23,

APPENDIX.

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LIST OF PLAYS EXAMINED, CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

- 1672. Le Deuil. D'Hauteroche.
- 1674. L'Ombre de Molière. De Brécourt.
Crispin Médecin. D'Hauteroche.
Crispin Musicien. D'Hauteroche.
- 1677. Le Festin de Pierre. Th. Corneille.
- 1679. La Divineresse. Th. Corneille et De Visé.
- 1681. Le Triomphe de l'Amour. Anonymous.
- 1683. Le Mercure Galant. Boursault.
Le Florentin. La Fontaine.
- 1686. L'Homme à Bonne Fortune. Baron.
Les Fonds Perdus. Dancourt.
- 1687. Le Chevalier à la Mode. Dancourt.
La Désolation des Joueuses. Dancourt.
- 1688. La Maison de Campagne. Dancourt.
La Coupe Enchantée. La Fontaine.
Le Divorce. Regnard.
- 1689. La Descente d'Arlequin aux Enfers. Regnard.
- 1690. L'Été des Coquettes. Dancourt.
La Folle Enchère. Dancourt.
Les Filles Errantes. Regnard.
L'Homme à Bonne Fortune. Regnard.
- 1691. Le Grondeur. Brueys.
Le Muet. Brueys.
La Parisienne. Dancourt.
La Coquette. Regnard.
- 1692. Les Bourgeoises à la Mode. Dancourt.
La Femme d'Intrigues. Dancourt.
Les Chinois. Regnard.
- 1693. La Gazette. Dancourt.
L'Impromptu de Garnison. Dancourt.
La Baguette de Vulcain. Regnard.
- 1694. Les Vendanges. Dancourt.
Attendez-moi sous l'Orme. Regnard.
- 1695. La Foire de Besons. Dancourt.
Le Tuteur. Dancourt.
Les Vendanges de Suresne. Dancourt.
La Foire St-Germain. Regnard.
La Naissance d'Amadis. Regnard.

1696. Les Eaux de Bourbon. Dancourt.
 La Foire St-Germain. Dancourt.
 Le Moulin de Javelle. Dancourt.
 Les Vacances. Dancourt.
 Le Bal. Regnard.
 Le Joueur. Regnard.
 La Sérénade. Regnard.
 La Suite de la Foire St-Germain. Regnard.
1697. Le Charivari. Dancourt.
 La Loterie. Dancourt.
 Le Retour des Officiers. Dancourt.
 Renaud et Armide. Dancourt.
 Le Distrain. Regnard.
1698. Les Curieux de Compiègne. Dancourt.
 Le Mari Retrouvé. Dancourt.
1699. Les Enfants de Paris. Dancourt.
 Les Fées. Dancourt.
 Le Vert-Galant. Dancourt.
 Le Carnaval de Venise. Regnard.
 La Malade sans Maladie. Dufresny.
1700. Colin-Maillard. Dancourt.
 Les Bourgeoises de Qualité. Dancourt.
 Les Trois Cousines. Dancourt.
 L'Esprit de Contradiction. Dufresny.
 Démocrite. Regnard.
 Le Retour Imprévu. Regnard.
1701. Esope à la Cour. Boursault.
1702. L'Opérateur Barry. Dancourt.
 Le Double Veuvage. Dufresny.
1703. L'Andrienne. Baron.
 L'Inconnu. Dancourt.
1704. Le Galant Jardinier. Dancourt.
 Les Amants Magnifiques. Dancourt.
 Le Mariage de la Folie. Regnard.
 Les Folies Amoureuses. Regnard.
1705. Circé. Dancourt.
 Le Divertissement de Sceaux. Dancourt.
 L'Impromptu de Livry. Dancourt.
 Les Ménechmes. Regnard.
1706. L'Avocat Patelin. Brueys.
1707. Le Diable Boiteux. Dancourt.
 Le Second Chapitre du Diable Boiteux. Dancourt.
 La Trahison Punie. Dancourt.
 Crispin Rival de son Maître. Le Sage.
1708. Madame Artus. Dancourt.
 Le Légataire Universel. Regnard.
 La Critique du Légataire Universel. Regnard.
1709. Turcaret. Le Sage.

- Le Jaloux Désabusé. Campistron.
1710. La Comédie des Comédiens. Dancourt.
L'Amour Charlatan. Dancourt.
Les Agioteurs. Dancourt.
1711. Céphale et Procris. Dancourt.
1712. Sancho Pança. Dancourt.
L'Ingrat. Destouches.
1713. L'Impromptu de Suresne. Dancourt.
L'Irrésolu. Destouches.
Les Trois Frères Rivaux. Lafont.
1714. Les Fêtes Nocturnes du Cours. Dancourt.
1715. Le Médisant. Destouches.
La Coquette du Village. Dufresny.
1716. Le Triple Mariage. Destouches.
1717. L'Obstacle Imprévu. Destouches.
1718. La Métempscicose des Amours. Dancourt.
1719. La Réconciliation Normande. Dufresny.
Le Dédit. Dufresny.
1720. Arlequin Poli par l'Amour. Marivaux.
1721. Le Mariage fait et rompu. Dufresny.
1722. Le Galant Coureur. Le Grand.
Harlequin-Deucalion. Piron.
La Surprise de l'Amour. Marivaux.
1723. La Double Inconstance. Marivaux.
1725. Le Babillard. De Boissy.
L'Indiscret. Voltaire.
1727. Le Français à Londres. De Boissy.
Le Philosophe Marié. Destouches.
L'Envieux. Destouches.
La Second Surprise de l'Amour. Marivaux.
1728. L'Ecole des Bourgeois. D'Allainval.
Le Procureur Arbitre. Poisson.
1730. Les Philosophes Amoureux. Destouches.
Le Jeu de l'Amour et du Hasard. Marivaux.
1732. Le Glorieux. Destouches.
L'Ecole des Mères. Marivaux.
Les Serments Indiscrets. Marivaux.
Les Originaux. Voltaire.
1733. Le Dissipateur. Destouches.
Le Rendez-vous. Fagan.
L'Impromptu de Campagne. Poisson.
L'Heureux Stratagème. Marivaux.
1734. La Pupille. Fagan.
La Méprise. Marivaux.
Le Petit-Maitre Corrigé. Marivaux.
L'Echange. Voltaire.
1735. Le Préjugé à la Mode. La Chaussée.
La Mère Confidente. Marivaux.

- 1736. Le Tambour Nocturne. Destouches.
Le Legs. Marivaux.
La Métromanie. Piron.
L'Enfant Prodigue. Voltaire.
- 1737. L'Ambitieux et l'Indiscret. Destouches.
Les Fausses Confidences. Marivaux.
- 1738. Les Originaux. Fagan.
Le Consentement Forcé. Guyot de Merville.
- 1739. Les Sincères. Marivaux.
La Somnambule. Pont-de-Vesle.
- 1740. Les Dehors Trompeurs. De Boissy.
L'Epreuve. Marivaux.
L'Oracle. Saint-Foix.
- 1741. L'Enfant Gâté. Destouches.
La Chercheuse d'Esprit. Favart.
Mélanide. La Chaussée.
- 1742. Le Mariage de Ragonde et de Colin. Destouches.
Amour pour Amour. La Chaussée.
L'Amour Usé. Destouches.
- 1744. L'Ecole des Mères. La Chaussée.
- 1745. Le Sage Etourdi. De Boissy.
Le Méchant. Gresset.
La Princesse de Navarre. Voltaire.
Le Temple de la Gloire. Voltaire.
- 1746. Le Préjugé Vaincu. Marivaux.
- 1747. L'Homme Singulier. Destouches.
La Gouvernante. La Chaussée.
La Prude. Voltaire.
- 1749. La Femme qui a Raison. Voltaire.
Nanine. Voltaire.
- 1750. La Force du Naturel. Destouches.
- 1751. L'Impertinent. Desmahis.
Le Jeune Homme à l'Epreuve. Destouches.
- 1752. Le Devin de Village. Rousseau.
- 1753. Les Amours de Bastien et Bastienne. Favart.
- 1756. La Coquette Corrigée. Sauvé de la Noue.
- 1757. Le Fils Naturel. Diderot.
- 1759. La Fausse Agnès. Destouches.
Socrate. Voltaire.
- 1760. Les Moeurs du Temps. Saurin.
L'Ecoissaise. Voltaire.
- 1761. Le Père de Famille. Diderot.
- 1762. Le Droit du Seigneur. Voltaire.
- 1763. Dupuis et Des Ronais. Collé.
Annette et Lubin. Favart.
- 1764. Le Cercle. Poinciset de Sivry.
- 1765. Le Philosophe sans le savoir. Sedaine.
- 1767. Eugénie. Beaumarchais.

- Charlot. Voltaire.
1768. Les Fausses Infidélités. Barthe.
Béverlei. Saurin.
La Gageure Imprévue. Sedaine.
1771. Le Bourru Bienfaisant. Goldoni.
L'Ami de la Maison. Marmontel.
1774. La Partie de Chasse de Henri IV. Collé.
1775. Le Barbier de Séville. Beaumarchais.
1776. Les Trois Sultanes. Favart.
1777. L'Amant Bourru. Monvel.
1779. Les Réveries Renouvelées des Grecs. Favart.
1781. Le Jaloux sans Amour. Imbert.
1783. Le Séducteur. De Bièvre.
1784. Le Mariage de Figaro. Beaumarchais.
1786. L'Inconstant. Collin d'Harleville.
1787. Les Etourdis. Andrieux.
1788. L'Optimiste. Collin d'Harleville.
1790. Le Tartuffe des Mœurs. Chéron.
Le Philinte de Molière. Fabre d'Eglantine.
L'Intrigue Epistolaire. Fabre d'Eglantine.
1792. Le Vieux Célibataire. Collin d'Harleville.
La Mère Coupable. Beaumarchais.

PLAYS WHOSE DATE CAN BE DETERMINED ONLY
APPROXIMATELY, OR NOT AT ALL.

Dancourt.

Le Prix de l'Arquebuse, 1714-1718.

La Déroute du Paraon, 1718, or later.

Destouches.

Le Vindictif.

Le Trésor Caché.

Le Dépôt.

Le Mari Confident.

L'Archi-Menteur, ou Le Vieux Fou Dupé.

Les Fêtes de l'Inconnu.

La Fête de la Nymphé Lutèce.

Scène de l'Aimable Vieillard.

Scène du Tracassier.

Scènes Anglaises, Tirées de la Comédie intitulée La Tempête.

Scène du Prothée.

Scène de Thalie et Melpomène.

Favart.

Ninette à la Cour.

Le Grand.

L'Aveugle Clairvoyant.

Regnard.

Les Souhais (non représentée).

Les Vendanges, ou Le Bailli d'Anières (non représentée).

Voltaire.

L'Envieux.

La Comédie Fameuse.

Le Baron d'Otrante.

Les Deux Tonneaux.

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